

# STUDIES ON MEDIEVAL EMPATHIES



EDITED BY  
KARL F. MORRISON AND RUDOLPH M. BELL

BREPOLS



STUDIES ON  
MEDIEVAL EMPATHIES

DISPUTATIO

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To our Contributors—  
dear friends and colleagues  
who made this volume possible

Nudiustertius cum claustra monasterii circuirem, consedente fragrum amantissima corona, et quasi inter paradisiacas amoenitates singularum arborum folia, flores fructus que mirarer; nullum inueniens in illa multitudine quem non diligerem, et a quo me diligere non confiderem, tanto gaudio perfusus sum ut omnes mundi huius delicias superaret. Sentiebam quippe meum spiritum transfusum in omnibus, et in me omnium transmigrasse affectum, ut dicerem cum Propheta: 'Ecce quam bonum et quam iucundum, habitare fratres in unum'.

Aelred of Rievaulx, *De spiritali amicitia*, III. 82\*

\* Aelred of Rievaulx, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Anselm Hoste and others, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 1, 2A–2D, 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971–2005), i: *Opera ascetica*, ed. by Anselm Hoste, Charles H. Talbot, and R. Vander Plaetse (1971), p. 334.



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## PREFACE

Rudolph M. Bell

Experiments in Empathy: The Middle Ages, the conference held at Rutgers University on 1–2 May 2008 that spawned the present volume, was a happy occasion. Originally it had been conceived as an event to mark Karl F. Morrison's planned retirement from active teaching after a career spanning five decades, with the last twenty years at Rutgers. Along the way, however, a fortunate turn for the better in his health allowed Karl to continue actively in his classroom work, for which I am pleased to say 'thank you' on behalf of the Rutgers student body, especially serious majors in history and in medieval studies. Released from any trappings of nostalgia or the stresses of celebrating a liminal moment, the conference participants were fully able to focus on the matter at hand: experiments, soundings, drillings, explorations, and even musings in the history of empathy. The present volume is not the traditional *Festschrift* but instead offers readers an intense inquiry that includes Karl F. Morrison as an active participant, even a protagonist. The subject long had been one of interest at Rutgers University; both editors are gratified to remember a predecessor study of empathy in the Middle Ages, which originated here: Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1968), originally a doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Peter Charanis, and published in the Rutgers Byzantine Series.

Participants knew from the initial call for papers that our intent was to publish a volume of original essays, an aim that is now achieved. From the moment of their initial presentations, it was clear that this assembly of formidable scholars was engaged in producing significant results. Present during the conference itself but inevitably absent from these pages as direct quotation was a dialogue, a give-and-take among presenters and the audience that grappled to deepen the

coherence of a concept, empathy, as it evolved over the span of a millennium in all of Western Europe and appeared in art, music, theology, philosophy, and human action. In quite different ways and from their distinctive perspectives, John Coakley, Giles Constable, and Barbara Rosenwein enriched the experience of the conference, and both then and in continuing conversations since, Nancy Van Deusen has marked out for some future exploration the power of liturgical music in the Latin West as a teacher of empathy, a stimulant of fervour, and a builder of diverse empathetic communities. Another departure from the conference proceedings is present in these pages, and especially helpful to the reader: a capacious introductory essay by Karl F. Morrison, 'Framing the Subject: Humanity and the Wounds of Love', a study that pushes the chronological scope of the volume back by yet another millennium and that sets forth the theoretical richness of the terrain for the essays which follow.

'Art conceals art' is an old axiom. It reminds us that works of art, and performances, which seem perfectly natural and effortless are built on, and designed to conceal, much forethought and plain hard work. It is a pleasure to note, albeit all too briefly, the logistical support and accoutrements that made the conference such a success. We started admirably with a welcome by Richard L. McCormick, currently president of Rutgers University, and in 1987 the History Department chair who brought Karl F. Morrison to Rutgers as the Gotthold Ephraim Lessing Professor of History and Poetics. Paul G. E. Clemens, serving as History Department chair two decades later when the conference took place, presided at this opening session. We are deeply grateful to Paul for his moral, intellectual, and financial support for the conference, which never wavered during some tough budgetary times. The conferees also had the pleasure of listening to a wonderful personal recollection by Theofanis Stavrou, Professor of Modern Greek Studies at the University of Minnesota: "'The Jasmine Always Stays White': A Memoir of Intellectual Pursuits and Enduring Friendship'.

Another highlight that should not go unnoticed was the splendid musical interlude provided on the first evening by the Rutgers Collegium Musicum, directed by Professor Andrew Kirkman of the Mason Gross School of the Arts. The music celebrated a collection of festival books (from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century) which Karl began to form for Rutgers in 1993, gave to the Special Collections division of the Rutgers University Library a decade later, and since then has continued to develop with the generous support of Special Collections. The extraordinary music performed at the conference brought to life the magnificent events, complete with music, fireworks, and sumptuous feasts, recorded and pictured in this collection, which now numbers some thirty volumes and offers resources for scholars working in and across a wide range of disciplines.

The programme, entitled 'Music for the Habsburg Emperors', included compositions by Benedictus de Opitiis (*c.* 1476–1524), Ludwig Senfl (*c.* 1486–1543), Costanzo Festa (*c.* 1485–1545), Jacobus Clemens non Papa (*c.* 1510–55), and Thomas Crequillon (*c.* 1505–*c.* 1557).

A special treat on the second day was the relocation of the afternoon session from an academic venue to Christ Episcopal Church in New Brunswick, which brought us to the environs where Father Karl F. Morrison served as curate from 1998 to 2003.

The conference also included excellent food and drink, along with comfortable accommodations and necessary travel arrangements. Such things cost money, and we are pleased to acknowledge the financial support we received from the Rutgers History Department, the Medieval Studies Program, the Rutgers New Brunswick School of Arts and Sciences, and the Gotthold Ephraim Lessing Fund. We thank the staffs of Christ Episcopal Church, the University Inn, and the Wood Lawn mansion for being fine hosts, and Hector Amaya, Mary DeMeo, Laura Tomici, and especially Tim Alves for making everything go smoothly.

We thank the contributors for their unfailing patience through several years of intermittent requests from us for information, details requiring a jeweler's eye, and good will. In the task of preparing this collection of studies, written separately for post-publication life together as neighbours in the same volume, the editors had reason to be grateful to four colleagues beyond the circle of contributors. The first was the anonymous reader for the Disput series, a person whose wide and deep learning ranged through the whole scope of time and *mélange* of cultures considered in the studies. We are grateful, not only for the reader's erudition, but also for the discernment expressed in pages of observations, suggestions, and challenges. The second colleague, not a contributor, who intervened to the advantage of the whole project is Professor Dallas Denery, who represented the editorial board for the Disput Series. We thank him for his tact and encouragement as we moved together through the various stages of revision. At a critical juncture in the editing process, Martina Saltamacchia took precious time out from working on her doctoral dissertation to solve some knotty problems that emerged in concatenating the varied essays. Finally, and saving our greatest debt of gratitude for last, we thank Ms. Sharon Herson, who worked with us as initial copyeditor, and who brought to the task the exceptional strengths which have given her rare *élan* in her profession and made her both a valued collaborator in this work and our friend for good. We also acknowledge with pleasure and respect the fine work done by Brepols copyeditors Ms. Shannon Cunningham for the bibliographic material and Ms. Deborah A. Oosterhouse for the text and notes.

It is fitting to end this brief Preface and move right along to a short biographical account of the scholar, teacher, and person at the centre of the conference and of this volume, followed by a chronological bibliography of his published works.

Before turning the page, however, Karl and I, on behalf of all the book's participants, wish to share with our readers a note of profound regret over the passing of Sabine MacCormack. She died unexpectedly on 16 June 2012, as this volume was entering production. We cherished her as a friend and as a colleague, and we should have delighted to celebrate the completion of our collective reflections on empathy with her, as we delighted to share their quandaries, paradoxes, and sheer fun.

*Rudolph M. Bell*

Professor II, Department of History  
Rutgers University

## KARL F. MORRISON — BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Even a casual glance through the following bibliography is bound to raise questions. Its arrangement by year accents the variety of subjects. Some appear and vanish without trace. Others, less evanescent, have a longer run. Still others appear, vanish for a time, and return. To be sure, a true chart of subjects would take account of some hidden metamorphosis by which concealed debuts change later on into dominant subjects, declared in titles. For any writer, individual works, and whole oeuvres, are autobiographical traces. One suspects, from this variety of subjects, a certain discontent leading toward empathy: that is, emotional companionship.

Now and then, Morrison has written short reflections on his career, which cast some light on the interplay of variables and constants in his published works (Medieval Academy of America, meeting at Boston, 31 March 1995, panel: ‘Theory into Practice’; ‘A Word of Thanks,’ letter to Theofanis G. Stavrou, 4 October 2007; Conference: ‘Experiments in Empathy: The Middle Ages,’ Rutgers University, 1 May 2008). These provide author’s eye views of what has been going on. From that perspective, variability and constancy were inscribed in the clay from the beginning: that is, from growing up amid the rich anomalies of an academic community in northern Mississippi during the Second World War. Somewhere between the poles of segregation and the Southern Renaissance a figure of humanity began to take shape for him. In retrospect, Morrison realizes that he grew up in a nineteenth-century environment. There, even the youngest child realized, and was educated to realize, that society was divided into elite and vernacular segments, each with different templates for men and women allowing self-giving compassion here and condescending sympathy there, and withholding fellow-feeling beyond commonly acknowledged frontiers. Among

the dominant elite, there was nostalgia for a past lost in the flames of the mid-nineteenth century and Reconstruction, still remembered by some who had lived through it. In adulthood, when he taught in Kansas, among friends and in happy circumstances, the irony sometimes came vividly to mind that his hometown, Oxford, Mississippi, had been burned by the Seventh Kansas Jayhawkers (22 August 1864), an event that the collective memory of the 1940s had by no means dropped into the oubliette of history, or forgiveness. Yet, even a child knew the magician's trick, the graceful wave of the wrist, with which the Civil War was made to disappear when called 'the late unpleasantness' while it burned incandescent in memory, and also knew how relentlessly the same wishful thinking was applied to boundaries between living human beings in every aspect of life and death. Especially in the dimension of emotion, humanity could at will be affirmed, or denied, or conceded in some degree, now and then, as the affection of fellow-feeling was given or withheld.

For the education of a medievalist, growing up in the nineteenth-century environment had some enormous advantages, which came, at the University of Mississippi (1953–56), through the self-giving kindness of others who provided a grounding in classical languages and literatures and an abiding affinity for medieval culture, particularly in the Carolingian period. The nineteenth-century openness to aesthetics, one variety of fellow-feeling, also bent the twig in favour of music and, especially, the visual arts. What became a compelling attraction of empathy had one source in a child's nostalgia for a family past gone with the wind like the imagined antebellum past. The remembered family past went back to early nineteenth-century Presbyterian missionaries to India who left from central New Jersey. His fascination with the power of visual art to kindle aesthetic empathy began with the paradox of beautiful stained-glass windows in a nineteenth-century Calvinist church in northern Mississippi. To be sure, attentiveness to paradox was deeply encoded in this acculturation to empathy, particularly in the entwining of segregation and Southern Renaissance. For what mediated the disparities between those poles was an unspoken way of thinking for which a feeling for kindred humanity was not of one piece, but differentiated, polyvalent and unstable, residing in the disparities of form and substance in human interactions. It was divined by a major survival skill: reading between the lines, finding the unsaid in the said or the intended but unexpressed in the sign or gesture — in other words, the art of allegory. Not all of this will be apparent from the following bibliography, though its imprint is everywhere. To be sure, important refinements learned in formal training added essentially to the form it took in these publications.

Graduate studies at Cornell (1956–61) opened new fields of study (e.g. numismatics) and turned Morrison's historical centre of gravity towards the his-

tory of ideas and German methods of analysis, rather than the Anglo-French methods then predominant in North America. His experience of empathy as affect widened in many ways, first, by entering for the first time a cosmopolitan community, which included Jews, persons of colour, and refugees from Nazism, and by others who in friendship allowed him to enter their worlds through their hearts. Fortuitously, a series of lectures by the theologian Paul Tillich introduced him to the conceptions of empathy, and to what Tillich called 'empathetic participation', as bonds of social union through personal harmony. Particularly through the works of Paul Cassirer, the paradigm of image and archetype and the mediating action of mimesis entered his study of Carolingian political thought. And his practical experience of empathy and equipment for thinking affectively about it expanded through teaching, as it would continue to do for fifty years.

There is no need to pursue the further development step by step, although, for detecting rationales for the changing subjects mentioned in the bibliography, some invisible landmarks should be noted. Morrison's appointment at the University of Minnesota brought important steps forward, partly through friendships there and at Catholic colleges and universities in Minnesota, partly through the work of some colleagues in immigration history, and most lastingly through friendships in and outside academia with believers in Eastern Orthodox traditions, which latter are reflected in some publications in the *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* after 1987. The life-enriching change of marriage and parentage expanded the scope of practical empathy beyond previous imagination and, combined with a long and fruitful appointment at the University of Chicago (1965–84), produced a kaleidoscope of the most diverse shades in affective as well as in intellectual orientation. The friendships and collaborations of colleagues in the History Department, the Divinity School, and the Department of Art History, and the companionship of students, both undergraduate and graduate, edged him towards wide comparative perspectives, as for example in the history of religious tradition, towards the possibility and limits of understanding (hermeneutics), and yet further, towards the dyad of archetype and image mediated by mimesis as a timeless paradigm of creation and change. Social and political turmoil arising from the Vietnam War added a sharp, personal edge, as did awareness of a deliberate moral choice to study empathy as fellow-feeling, which had been present from the beginning for Morrison thanks to the experience of segregation and which, by 1987, had taken another contemporary anchor for him in women's studies.

At the conference from which the studies in this volume arose, Morrison acknowledged obligations, numerous and unrepayable, to his friends, colleagues, and students at the University of Kansas (1984–88) and, last and longest, at

Rutgers (1988–present). As is fitting, the Rutgers years have brought a deepening, and many-splendoured, perspective on empathy as thought and empathy as lived, and this intensification has brought with it in turn an acute sense of the urgency of expanding the circles of empathy for social healing, and fear of the costs of withholding it. To be sure, research and teaching have ramified the interplay of political thought, religion, literature, and art, an unstable dynamic from very early in Morrison's work, and so have companionships with friends, colleagues, and students, some of which continue in the following papers. Yet, in these years a new kind of affective education entered the picture with Morrison's preparation for ordination as a priest in the Episcopal Church (1999) and with his service in ordained ministry. The preparation grafted in his thinking direct experience of unfamiliar and life-changing kinds: for example, by internships in hospital and prison chaplaincies. His ministry since ordination has woven the practice of empathy inextricably into his awareness of the entire cycle of life, and with that a sense of withholding empathy as, not only a wrong to the denied, but, for deniers, maiming of the inner self.

The Civil War and its long residue, segregation, and, to be sure, the Vietnam War, not to mention legendary family rivalries, gave evidence enough of denial's effects. Experience of community in another dimension without boundaries witnessed to the creative and re-creative powers of affective unity among human beings that was both down-to-earth and transcendent, energy participating in a wholeness Dante envisioned as 'love that moves the sun and all the stars'.

Professor Theofanis Stavrou, with some personal recollections, opened the conference where the papers in this volume made their debuts. He quoted another poet, Yannis Ritsos, among whose verses stand these:

All about me  
spreads the compassion of a timeless starlight — my own compassion  
for the whole world and (naturally) for my own self [...].  
alone with myself,  
released from myself [...]  
at one with the universe. And the ropes that  
bound me —  
hands, feet, throat — now severed,  
themselves too now wings — there, I can hear them fluttering,  
and the soft brush of their lips against earth and heaven [...].

('Phaedra', in *The Fourth Dimension*, trans. by Peter Green and Beverly Bardsley (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 1993), p. 283)

*Selected Academic Positions*

Stanford University, Acting Instructor (1960–61)  
University of Minnesota, Instructor (1961–62), Assistant Professor (1962–64)  
Harvard University, Assistant Professor (1964–65)  
University of Chicago, Associate Professor (1965–68), Professor (1968–84)  
University of Kansas, Ahmanson-Murphy Distinguished Professor of Medieval and Renaissance History (1984–88)  
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing Professor of History and Poetics (1988–present)

*Selected Fellowships*

ACLS Fellowship (1963–64; 1966–67)  
Institute for Advanced Study, Visiting Member (1966–68)  
NEH Fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study (1976–77)  
Fellow, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1986–87)  
Institute for Advanced Study Visitor (summer, 1988; 2004–05)  
Carey Senior Faculty Fellow, Erasmus Institute, University of Notre Dame (2001–02)

*Selected Lectures*

Page-Barbour Lectures, at the University of Virginia (1990)  
Wilkinson Lecture, at the University of Toronto (1995)  
Cunningham Lecture, at the University of Minnesota (1995)  
Gilson Lecture, at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (2004)



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# FRAMING THE SUBJECT: HUMANITY AND THE WOUNDS OF LOVE

Karl F. Morrison

‘To me, empathy is the spark of human concern for others,  
the glue that makes social life possible.’<sup>1</sup>

**T**he history of empathy has yet to be written, and it remains to be seen what place Europe in the so-called Middle Ages may have in that epic narrative. At first glance, empathy might seem a very minor feature in a story with such blood-curdling major landmarks as barbarian invasions, crusades, and, latest of all, the Inquisition and Wars of Religion. Yet, the combination of compassion and cruelty exhibited in Europe during those centuries was by no means unique. The present book is a collective effort to explore the creative power that comes from the interplay of tensions between two apparent opposites, cruelty and fellow feeling.

In this introduction, I have one aim: to provide a framework for the diverse and searching articles that make up the substance of the book. The essays deal with a relatively familiar historical era, Europe from Charlemagne up to the threshold of the Renaissance. Still, that era and the figures and creative impulses brought back to life in the essays took for granted a deep foundation laid before Charlemagne by writers in the Late Roman Empire. This foundation, rooted in the conflicts of early Christianity, may be unfamiliar to some readers, and part of the framework for the studies in this volume is to sketch the heritage revered and refabricated many times in the era between Charlemagne and the Renaissance. Another part is to indicate thematic unities that derive from that tradition and that weave through the highly original variations in, and departures from, those themes captured in the following studies.

<sup>1</sup> Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development*, p. 1.

The essential feature of the tradition is that it was articulated in many contrasting, often conflicting, strands of Christianity. The subject of empathy has many advantages, not least of which is that it brings to the surface irreconcilable frictions out of which came towering and long-lasting achievements in early Christianities. One of the main points of friction was the most irreducible of all the building blocks in the foundation: namely, belief in humanity. What makes 'us' human and other creatures not? Where did 'humanity' come from, and how did it work, if it could be lost, leaving a person who outwardly had the shape of a human being but inwardly the mind and heart of an animal?

There is no question that compassion, or loving fellow feeling, is a virtue specific to human society. Yet there were spoken and unspoken social limits on this assumption among pre-Christian writers, including Aristotle. Christian heirs of classical ideas of humanity and its virtues began with the primary moral rule of thumb that compassion and the love impelling it were faith active in love, fulfilling the two commandments that Christ derived from Jewish tradition: love of God and neighbour. Christian thinkers by no means agreed that humanity extended beyond their own society and its doctrines.

The idea that Christianity and humanity were conterminous has a long life. In one relatively recent example we find Carlo Levi, writing of the then-remote Italian province of Lucania, representing the people of the town of Eboli as saying, 'We're not Christians [...] Christ stopped short of here, at Eboli.' 'Christian,' (Levi continues) 'in their way of speaking means "human being", and this almost proverbial phrase that I have so often heard them repeat may be no more than the expression of a hopeless feeling of inferiority. We're not Christians; we're not human beings; we're not thought of as men, but simply as beasts, beasts of burden, or even less than beasts, mere creatures of the wild.' Levi's novel captures a long-standing interlacing of belief with culture, for his unfolding story tells how deficits in Latin culture were registered as deficits in Christian faith, and therefore in humanity. Taking a perspective quite hostile to that of the Lucanians, Levi wrote that their area missed out on the transmission of ancient Roman literary traditions. He recalled how a misfit of a priest, banished to Eboli for taking liberties with seminarians, prided himself on his Latinity as difference, insulating him from his flock: 'The people here are donkeys, not Christians,' he reported the priest as saying, adding, as if to reassure himself about Levi's humanity, 'You know Latin, of course, don't you?'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, trans. by Frenaye, pp. 1–2, 40–41. See also Silone, *Seed beneath the Snow*, trans. by Frenay, p. 43. Berenson, *Sketch for a Self-Portrait*, pp. 30–31.

In recent times, with modernization and globalization, all the many extant Christianities have had to reconstitute their varied simulations of sacred realities in the vernaculars of their cultures. Believing Christians who have worked to conform their daily lives to the templates of any one of them cannot miss a familiar tone, even in the dozen studies that constitute the present collection. For the claims to have a deposit of truth which is denied to others, claims justifying the existence of separate believing communities, communions, churches, or sects, apart from the others, mixes uneasily with claims to spiritual openness and universality. How does self-segregation square with claims to be 'one, catholic, and universal'? Irreconcilable demands tear at charity, love that passes understanding, indeed by love for one's enemies pulled from one direction towards faithfulness, defined by obedience to finite institutions and creeds, and from another towards religious *aggiornamento*, by a broad and generous humanism. At the end of this introduction, I shall return to interfacing among the collected essays which dovetail experiments in different specialties and disciplines into aspects of one complex and rich conversation. For now, I turn to the common belief system inherited from the Roman Empire which frames the whole project. Bearing in mind the conflicts that split Christians and Christianities in the early churches, no one could miss the fact that we are entering a garden of many forking paths.<sup>3</sup>

\* \* \*

The name 'empathy' gradually emerged from the teaming waters of German philosophy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but it was clear, even to its discoverers, that they were naming something that had long been recognized as inscribed in human nature and called by other names. The German language has an unusual facility to sharpen precision of meaning by framing new words or inventively adapting old ones. The German '*Einfühlung*' served as a preliminary stage towards the more *recherché* academic formalism of the Greek (or Hellenized) version, '*Empathie*'. The formulation achieved general currency through the example and influence of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), a towering figure in the history of theology and hermeneutics. Extracting such meaning as he could from the surviving fragments of Greek sculpture and early Christian writings, he became convinced that by combining rational interrogation of the evidence with an educated aesthetic sensibility, a modern critic could enter into the creative process by which the work had been made. Alien as cultures, languages, and symbolic forms might be, and despite the loss even of great

<sup>3</sup> I borrow the term from Borges, 'The Garden of Forking Paths'.

portions of a work of art, modern critics could feel their ways (*empfinden*) into a fragment and, by a kind of 'divinatory intuition', understand its making and its significance better than the one who had made it.

For our purposes, the salient features of Schleiermacher's appeal to entering the mind of another by feeling are (a) that it presupposed the emotional rapport of a common humanity, (b) that no less than reason the emotional rapport was cognitive, and (c) that mobilizing its cognitive effects not only derived from a common humanity but also enhanced social bonding. Theologian though he was, Schleiermacher followed the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in abandoning the hope of knowing transcendence and remaining content with subjective perceptions, or feelings, of the universal. The transcendent itself was beyond comprehension; 'transcendental' feelings mirroring the transcendent gave us categories of understanding and expression. Kant, indeed, found the Archimedean point of his moral teachings in 'a feeling for humanity'. There was a note of triumph in Kant when, stricken and frail in the last stage of his life, he falteringly stood and greeted his physician with the words, 'I still have not lost my feeling for humanity'.

When it comes to be written, the history of empathy will locate 'a feeling for humanity' as a central figure in its landscape, a figure outlined by cognition and bonding. In this regard, medieval Europe has much to offer, doing so in a vernacular quite different from those current in Enlightenment Germany, even though what we are calling medieval 'experiments in empathy', generally affirming transcendence, proved in the long run to be antecedents of the retreat by Kant, Schleiermacher, and others from those starry heights into earthbound transcendental feelings and categories and indeed the retreat of empathy from theology into aesthetics.

The age-old tension in Christian thought between humanism, absorbed from pre-Christian classical writers, and theological teachings on humanity configured to divine love resolved itself by stages into separation. Theology and philosophy went their separate ways, aesthetics falling into philosophy's possession. Such virtues as altruism and philanthropy, fruits of humanism, lacked the objectives that informed Christian empathy. Allowing for 'Christian humanists' as a special category, humanists were not drawn to the supernatural; they were not inclined to define human beings as 'imitators of God' by their primary nature and as having for their chief objectives in life 'to please God, to receive forgiveness, and [therein] to manifest love of their fellow men'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, pp. 280–81.

Terms naming human connectedness are remarkably elusive. Given the Gospel's 'two great commandments' enjoining supremely love of God and, as a corollary, love of neighbour, an ample literature on love grew and ramified through the Middle Ages, a significant branch of it on friendship. The logical distinctions used in these writings set categories of friendship apart from one another, mainly according to the objects of loving. By doing that, writers underscored how few friendships had the characteristic that distinguishes empathy and that, for example, separates empathy from sympathy: namely, regard for another person on that person's own terms.<sup>5</sup>

Some people enter friendship selfishly for the use, or the pleasure, they can get out of their friends. Others exercise friendship by giving others what they think would be good for them or remaking their friends 'for their own good', regardless of what the intended beneficiaries think. This too is selfish, or solipsistic, an attempt to shape the friend into 'another self', someone in the benefactor's mold, a person of one's own heart. Empathy exists only among those who respect the integrity of their friends enough to listen to them, to see through their eyes and walk in their shoes, or at least to try to achieve the harmony of two lives, both distinct and in rhythm.

That the 'medieval experiments' stood in a longer tradition is certainly indicated by ideas and language used to speak of fellow feeling.<sup>6</sup> We must now briefly indicate the heritage derived from classical Antiquity. The heritage included a vocabulary, words describing how individual separateness and difference, dividing one person from another, were overcome and how, in the language of friendship, there came to be in the highest degree of intimacy such a blending of com-

<sup>5</sup> Rudolph Bell kindly directed me to parallels between discussions in this volume and conceptions of friendship elucidated by Dale Kent in three elegant essays published as Kent, *Friendship, Love and Trust*. In fifteenth-century Florence, as in the cultures of concern here, the same word, 'amicitia', carried many connotations; for friendship was an affective form of kinship made in numerous ways, some direct and others mediated by third parties, patrons, or 'friends of friends'. Kent found no trace of an isolated and secret self in fifteenth-century Florence. There, as in the Middle Ages, the conviction prevailed that even the most private aspects of character were social and, being social, political. In both eras, discourse about friendship took for granted a context of dogmatic, patriarchal, and passionately devotional religion to which conflict was central to redemption. Finally, in its manifold hybrid varieties friendship included complex interweavings, not least with insincerities required by etiquette, protocols of deference, and other formal obligations, not to mention opportunistic competition, open and covert, inviting or leading to betrayal. Part of the discourse about friendship concerned not only the formation and maintenance of affective relationships when advantageous, but also breaking them off when advantage faded and replacing them with hatred.

<sup>6</sup> See Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 32–56.

monality and difference that it was as though one soul lived in two bodies or two lives grew into one. A friend was another self, an alter ego.<sup>7</sup> However, reciprocity was by no means invariable. The little glossary of fellow feeling included words which observed the distinction of rank between the giver and the recipient of concern. These included gentleness (*lenitas*); feelings of pity (*misericordia*), or mercy (*mansuetudo*), such as a person having resources might render the needful; and clemency (*clementia*), in the gift of the powerful, a royal, even an imperial virtue. Rank could be inferred from context even when the words indicated commiseration in grief or hardship (*commiseratio*; *compassio*), or companionship in rejoicing (*conjubilatio*; *congaudatio*). Under the umbrella of fellow-feeling, there were ways to distinguish the condescension of the great, the sympathy of strangers, and the enjoyment by friends of one another. All denoted solicitous regard and curiosity, though the motives prompting embrace of the other, or the other's cause, could vary as widely as a Stoic's detached sense of duty, anger, a guilty conscience, and a lover's ardor. An almost diagrammatic statement of variable and proportionate fellow feeling as inherited by medieval Europe occurs in Aristotle's (384–322 BCE) analysis of friendship.

He distinguished many forms of friendship, varying according to categories of relationship. The highest good for man, as man was by nature a political animal,<sup>8</sup> the truest form of friendship, the most stable and the rarest, was that between equals in virtue. It was based on love for one another, expressed in mutual good will and acts of assistance, gaining each other's confidence over a long space of time. There were other, less stable, forms of friendship between those who did not love others for who they were but used friends as means to their own advantage or pleasure; and, least stable of all, there were varieties of friendship between people who loved as predators to feed their vices. Aristotle's categories went further, to include some which rested on superiority of one party over the other, as between fathers and sons, men and women, rulers and subjects. In these, each did not get, and should not seek, the same thing as was sought from the other; and, correspondingly, loving was proportionate, since the superior must be loved more than his (or her) beloved.<sup>9</sup> Friendship had its limits. For, since gods had neither goods nor, consequently, friends, friendship was not possible between human beings and gods. Though Aristotle agreed that friendship was possible between masters

<sup>7</sup> See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Irwin, IX. 1170b (p. 150).

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. by McKeon, I. 1253a (p. 556).

<sup>9</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Irwin, VIII. 1155a–1156b, 1157b–1158b (pp. 119–23, 124–26).

and slaves, as long as each regarded the other in the light of nature, he held that it was impossible if the relationship existed thanks only to coercion and law, and it was also impossible in the minds of people who restricted the term 'slave' to barbarians, thinking that, unlike Greeks, barbarians were slaves by nature.<sup>10</sup>

In its societal manifestation as concord, friendship was the cohesive bond of city-states, more powerful, Aristotle wrote, than justice. Here too there were important variations in degree. For political communities likewise depended on kinds of friendship varying according to their constitutions, kingship, aristocracy, and timocracy being the virtuous forms and tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy their debasements. Human nature was the primary material out of which both personal and societal relationships were derived, the bond of all reciprocal feeling. We can see around us, Aristotle wrote, how one human being is akin and beloved to another, and, because of that universal bond, 'we praise friends of humanity'. In families, the genetic bond was direct. All species of friendship in families depended on 'paternal friendship,' and one could speak of 'the same blood, the same stock'.<sup>11</sup>

This key stress on kinship through humanity passed into western medieval thinking, chiefly through Cicero's writings (106–43 BCE), and above all as Cicero epitomized his ideas in an oration delivered when he was an ambitious and hungry young man, launching his career in the law courts. He was called to defend the case of Sextus Roscius the Younger, a provincial landowner without standing or protectors in Rome, against accusations brought by men in the inner circle of the ruthless dictator Sulla. Planning to confiscate his estates, the conspirators close to Sulla had murdered Sextus Roscius's father and accused the son of parricide.

Cicero must have reckoned that the prospect of gaining instant celebrity outweighed the risk of making the most powerful enemies in Rome. His ornate and long defence turned on two points. First, he argued that Sextus Roscius the Younger, having the simple virtues of an honest countryman, had been perfidiously ambushed by corrupt city-dwellers out of base greed. His second main point was that the motive the conspirators alleged against Sextus Roscius the Younger — that he murdered his father to prevent him from reducing the legacy for his son — ran contrary to nature in all its premises. Having defended his client's virtue, the first point, he negated the alleged motive by turning to the

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Irwin, VIII. 1159a (pp. 127–28). Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. by McKeon, I. 1255b (pp. 562–63).

<sup>11</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Irwin, VIII. 1161b; IX. 1169b (pp. 132, 148–49, n. 14).

humanity (*humanitas*) binding father and son. ‘Was the father insane,’ Cicero asked, ‘to hate without a cause a son he engendered?’<sup>12</sup> As for the son: ‘Great is the power of humanity (*humanitas*). Shared blood (*communio sanguinis*) avails much. Nature herself cries out against suspicions of this kind. Beyond doubt, it is ill-omened and monstrous that anyone who has human appearance and form should surpass beasts by cruelty of such enormity as to deprive of the light of day most basely the very people he has to thank that he himself can turn his face to that sweetest of all lights; for birth, rearing, and nature herself keep even wild animals at peace [with one another].’<sup>13</sup>

From Graeco-Roman antecedents, Christian writers inherited this conception of fellow feeling based in human consanguinity and variable proportionately from one relationship to another. By whatever name it was called, fellow feeling was an exercise in cognition about virtues and vices. It suited a hierarchical paradigm of society and cosmos not least because it entailed calculation of what was possible between persons, the apex of the hierarchy corresponding with the rarest of all relationships: those of equality between virtuous people solely for the good of mutual love and companionship. It also entailed continued recalculation as relative statuses and circumstances of the parties to friendship changed and as their motives in using or enjoying the other — selfless or (more usually) self-seeking — were gratified or not. Aristotle was quite clear in teaching that all other relationships hinged on individuals’ relationships to themselves: ‘One is a friend to one’s self most of all,’ Aristotle wrote. ‘Hence, one should also love one’s self most of all.’<sup>14</sup>

In appropriating, ultimately from Aristotle, essential ideas that human fellow feeling was grounded in humanity and explored by cognition, Cicero transmitted to the Latin West the concept of self-knowing as a study in virtue. Under the general category of love, it was of fundamental importance to all relationships to know oneself — one’s social standing, character, and objectives — in order to calculate the place of fellow feeling in one’s life in a wide spectrum of connections. This is also to say that Cicero transmitted a scheme of relationships which were,

<sup>12</sup> Cicero, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino Oratio*, ed. by Dyck, cc. 14. 41, 16. 46 (pp. 32–33): ‘Pater igitur amens, qui odisset eum sine causa quem procrearet?’

<sup>13</sup> Cicero, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino Oratio*, ed. by Dyck, c. 22. 63 (p. 37): ‘Magna est enim vis humanitatis; multum valet communio sanguinis; reclamitat istius modi suspicionibus ipsa natura. Portentum atque monstrum certissimum esse aliquem humana specie et figura qui tantum immanitate bestias vicerit, ut, propter quos hanc suavissimam lucem aspexerit, eos indignissime luce privarit, cum etiam feras inter sese partus atque educatio et natura ipsa conciliet.’

<sup>14</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Irwin, ix. 1168b (p. 146).

on the whole, asymmetrical friendships in which the parties were unequal, even though they sprang from 'shared blood' (*communio sanguinis*), as did the feeling of *humanitas* bonding father and son, in different degrees of obligation.

As early Christian writers never tired of saying, with some satisfaction, ancient philosophers missed the point. Even those like Aristotle and Cicero who saw most deeply into the nature of things, Christians argued, lacked the divinely given spiritual vision to see through the veil of earthly things to the heavenly causes and reasons on which they were framed, much less to the God who framed them all. Lacking supernatural enlightenment, they were blind to the truths behind all life on earth, including moral life, revealed in Scripture and transmitted through the teachings of prophets, apostles, and Church Fathers. The Greeks and Romans never conceived that human beings could love God, though that was Christ's first and greatest commandment and the basis of human relationships.

\* \* \*

As we turn to empathy in Christian doctrine, we are prepared to find ideas similar to those we have briefly considered, but we shall find them greatly changed. For example, *humanitas* transmitted by consanguinity (*communio sanguinis*) remains a basis for mutual concern in human society. Jerome (c. 341/47–420) and other major authorities used these very terms in senses familiar to Cicero, sometimes quoting his own words. However the range of meaning was expanded and rendered far more complex by the admixture of Scripture and theological tradition, itself a fissionable amalgam of teachings from many lands. For Christians, the term *communio sanguinis* became a double entendre thanks to sacramental theology: that is, the doctrine that the Eucharist became, and established, a supernatural *communio sanguinis*, as the faithful ate the flesh of Christ for their salvation and his blood poured into their hearts.<sup>15</sup> As we shall see, this sacramental belief created an entirely new dimension for the moral valuation of suffering.

In the developing humanist tradition represented by Aristotle and Cicero, fellow feeling had been a human affair, closed at the highest ranges, as Aristotle observed, since gods did not have friends. In another place, Aristotle also observed that it would be eccentric for anyone to say that he loved God. Yet, while Hebrew Scripture portrayed God warning Moses that no one could see God and live, it

<sup>15</sup> E.g., Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. by Zimmerman, IV. 61 (p. 273). On the transition from Jewish positions on blood communities (including pollution and cleansing) to Christian, see Biale, *Blood and Belief*, especially pp. 9–122. On the rich elaboration of kinships through blood in Christian sacramental thought and practice, see Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*.

also related how God talked with Moses face to face as a friend, transfiguring him with divine glory. Moreover, Hebrew Scripture further established the two major demands of religion as love of God and neighbour. Christian doctrine, teaching the two natures of Jesus — his perfect humanity and perfect divinity — opened the door through his mediation to conceiving many forms of loving mutuality between God and human beings. Along with the prescripts of Scripture and ever-widening structures of theology and sacramental action, Christianity was infused with a narrative of creation, crime, punishment, and redemption, propelled by the tensions of love, constancy, and betrayal.

A measure of the new direction ideas of empathy took among Christians is given by remembering Aristotle's enthronement of self-love at the centre of his discussion of friendship. As we observed, he wrote that every person should 'love himself most of all'.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, we find the sources of medieval hybridization of cruelty and fellow feeling in the persistent location, not of self-love, but of pain and frequently of self-rejection, in individuals' empathetic relation to themselves. Thus, at a crucial moment of self-recognition, Augustine of Hippo (354–430) remembered that God had forced him to look at himself:

You took me up from behind my own back, where I had placed myself because I did not wish to observe myself, and you set me before my face (Psalm 20:13; Psalm 49: 21) so that I should see how vile I was, how twisted and filthy, covered in sores and ulcers. And I looked and was appalled, but there was no way of escaping from myself. If I tried to avert my gaze from myself [...] you once again placed me in front of myself; you thrust me before my own eyes so that I should discover my iniquity and hate it. I had known it, but deceived myself, refused to admit it, and pushed it out of my mind.<sup>17</sup>

Seven centuries later, in the same penitential tradition, Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) wrote a similar confession to St John the Baptist, 'a friend of God'. Contrasting John's holiness with his own guilt and wretchedness, Anselm declared himself 'a sinner with a dead soul'. He had deformed the gracious image of God that God had made in him by superimposing upon it a defiled and sordid image hateful to God. Was he still a man at all, or had his malice driven his humanity out? Terrified 'of the filthy horror of myself' here and even more of the anguish of eternal torments in hell, he wrote:

<sup>16</sup> Above, note 14, Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Irwin, ix. 1168b (p. 146) : 'All these [precepts] are true most of all in someone's relations with himself, since one is a friend to himself most of all. Hence he should also love himself most of all.'

<sup>17</sup> Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. by Verheijen, VIII. 7. 16 (pp. 123–24); Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by Chadwick, pp. 144–45.

I cannot bear the interior horror of my face  
 Without a huge groan in my heart.  
 So then, I cannot flee from myself,  
 Nor can I look at myself; for I can not bear myself [...]  
 But see, it is worse still if I do not look at myself;  
 For then I am deceived about myself.  
 O too heavy weight of anguish!  
 If I look within myself, I cannot bear myself,  
 If I do not look within myself, I do not know myself;  
 If I consider myself, what I see terrifies me;  
 If I do not consider myself, I fall to my damnation.  
 If I look at myself, it is an intolerable horror;  
 If I do not look at myself, death is unavoidable.<sup>18</sup>

Though it may not be readily apparent, Augustine and Anselm wrote their expressions of self-revulsion to enhance the devotion of others. In that sense, they used the drama and bleakness of their words to engage the empathies of their intended readers. Indeed, Augustine acknowledged that what he wrote as a soliloquy before God, he wanted and intended to be heard by others. Though he recognized that they would read the words for their own reasons, perhaps salacious ones, he said that he had presented to others the example of his own journey as an example to induce them to venture out into their own journeys of penitential self-knowing in conversation with God. Experience taught him that they would not listen to him as a preacher telling them how to correct their lives. Augustine anticipated scepticism; he admitted that he could not prove that he was telling the truth; looking to charity as the only rule to follow in choosing among the diversity of truths in the many conflicting interpretations of Moses' books, he also confessed that brotherly love would convince some, and only some, to believe his story of divine intervention empowering his weakness and transforming his life from wickedness to happiness in God. He trusted that once penitents had taken the bait, his story would rouse them from despairing of their own weakness into grace, from their past selves to themselves as they would be in mercy, following in his footsteps. He hoped that they would also pray for him, 'conjoined [with Augustine] in mortality', bound by the wish of brotherly hearts to know about his inner self, akin to theirs.<sup>19</sup> As we shall see, Augustine and Anselm were linked by another

<sup>18</sup> Anselm, 'Prayer to St. John the Baptist', ed. by Schmitt, lines 14–31, 63–72, 115–27 (pp. 26–29), Anselm, 'Prayer to St. John the Baptist', trans. by Ward, pp. 127–45.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. by Verheijen, x. 3. 3–x. 4. 6 (pp. 156–58); Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by Chadwick, pp. 180–82. See also Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. by Verheijen, II. 30. 41 (p. 440).

sense of brotherly love, one that consecrated redemptive suffering. For Benedict of Nursia (480–547) inscribed an already old idea in his *Rule* when he portrayed the monastic community as an association of individuals progressing together in imitation of the Crucified, ‘with heart enlarged and in inexpressible sweetness of love [...] that we may partake by patience in the suffering of Christ and become worthy inheritors of his kingdom.’<sup>20</sup>

Like ancient and modern philosophical theories about emotions and feelings, medieval doctrines stood within wider frameworks of psychology. However, unlike ancient and modern theories, medieval doctrines were also embedded in all-encompassing theological systems which served, not as the distinguishing ideology of one or another school or sect, but as simulated realities and the distinguishing ethos of dominant groupings in highly eclectic societies. That people were intensely aware of options to these simulations and embraced them is indicated by occasional references in ecclesiastical documents, not only to aberrations within the household of faith, but also to practices hostile to Christianity but openly or clandestinely upheld by nominal Christians or their near neighbours. Thus Gregory of Tours (c. 540–94) referred in passing to popular sacrifices to a mountain lake, and to doubters breaking away from Christianity, trying to tear the faith out of their hearts by the roots.<sup>21</sup>

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In what follows, I shall concentrate on the theological underpinnings of empathy and the cognitive system to which it belongs. However, it would be wrong to forget the crucible, the social context in which that system existed and worked, a crucible, now largely lost, in which a teaming, violent *mêlée* of beliefs, customs, and moralities repelled one another and sometimes melded. Before I turn to the theological framework, then, I offer a vignette of the *mêlée*.

Many other ages also manifested ideals of cruelty and mercy, and even of cruelty as mercy. Here it is enough to speak of one epoch of a thousand years, with its rich *mélanges* of societies and historical transformations. In all its shifting phases, there are parallels to Gregory of Tours’s pattern of knowing and believing. In his accumulations of miracles and marvels, he especially prized those expressing divine compassion, above all when that virtue witnessed to the holiness and power of the patron of his church, St Martin of Tours. And yet, he often wrote

<sup>20</sup> Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule*, trans. by Fry, ‘Prologue’ (pp. 18–19).

<sup>21</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, trans. by Van Dam, no. 20 (p. 19). Gregory of Tours, *Life of the Fathers*, trans. by James, xvii (Nicetas). pref. (p. 113).

of cruelties as equal and equivalent signs of holiness at work in the world. For example, he recorded the story of a baby, born terribly deformed, in the city of Bourges. The child's limbs contracted into a ball against his chest; his eyes were sealed shut; his ears were deaf. People laughed at the monstrosity. Afraid to kill him, his mother nursed him through infancy, probably into early childhood. Then she gave him to a gaggle of beggars who, seeing commercial possibilities, took him about on a wagon as a freak show and gathered a fair amount in charity. When the boy was eleven, his handlers took him where the crowds were, to the festival of St Martin of Tours. Someone threw him down near the tomb of St Martin where, in great misery, he regained his sight and hearing. After another year of being trundled about as a curiosity, the beggars again took him to display to pilgrims at Tours, and there he was entirely cured.

Gregory wrote that he had heard the story from the boy's own lips. Mercy was in the two-stage healing; cruelty, in the abuse the child received as the butt of ridicule and repulsion, and also in the cause of his wretchedness. Why had he been born so terribly deformed? His mother knew. It was because she and her husband had conceived him in the sacred time of one Saturday night, the eve of the Sabbath, and Gregory emphasized the gravity of such a profanation by adding another exemplary divine punishment.<sup>22</sup>

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To indicate concisely how medieval writers set variations on the theme of empathy in that vast context, I turn to a treatise by a Greek Father, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335/40–after 394), *On the Making of Man*. Gregory recognized profound cognitive dissonances which, for him, did not impair the stability of his simulations, but rather widened the scope of faith to include the imperfect cognition of things unseen. Gregory's brother, Basil of Caesarea (c. 330–79) earlier had preached a celebrated series of nine sermons on the creation of the world, *The Hexaemeron*. Despite rare theological acumen and rhetorical elegance, Basil deferred a full exegesis on the crown and climax of the six days of Creation, as narrated in Genesis: namely, God's creation of humanity 'in his image and after his likeness'. With

<sup>22</sup> Gregory of Tours, *The Miracles of the Bishop St. Martin*, trans. by Van Dam, *Vita Martini*, II. 24 (p. 240). See also III. 31 (p. 271): a woman of Angers, whose limbs, especially her right hand, withered because she baked bread after sunset one Saturday. Gregory does not take account of a Scriptural incident no doubt well known to him and his intended audiences, Christ's healing of the man born blind (John 9. 2–34). According to the fourth evangelist, Jesus was asked whose guilt the blindness punished, the infant's or his parent's. Jesus evaded the question by saying that the blindness was sent not to punish guilt, but to manifest God's glory.

great deference to his brother's profound learning and piety, Gregory ventured, in *On the Making of Man*, to fill this gap, pending Basil's promised reflections. What he wrote was in essence a study in self-knowing, the record of one person in the process of discovering his place and function in the order of being.<sup>23</sup>

True to Genesis, Gregory's point of departure, his calculations swept across the whole scope of creation which he conceived as developing, under the hands of God working as a sculptor, by stages from the simplest existence to the most complex. The most complex stage of the divine sculptor's work was the last, the horizon where inferior, material existence meshed with superior, spiritual existence. Human being, both material and spiritual, marked that hybrid place. The whole range of creation formed a hierarchy, matter rising by degrees into spirit, each level of Being having its own limits, and all levels interconnected and informed by God, the absolute, unlimited, incomprehensible, and inexpressible. Gregory had a universal key for each component in his diagram, and for the hierarchy as a whole. His basic explanatory model, drawn from biological observation, was that of a living organism, like the human body (III. 3).

The organism Gregory had in mind (no doubt drawing on the precedent of the apostle Paul, 1 Corinthians 12. 12–27) was composed of parts, or members, each of which had its special function and all of which, working together, were needed for the well-being and survival — for the life — of the whole. This was a dynamic model, focused not on the configuration of the body or the articulation of its parts, but on the act of living. What sustained each member in harmony with all the others in making one whole was the same regenerative life force that produced a universal harmony out of the world's mutually conflicting elements. That life force for Gregory was the Spirit that moved over the waters at Creation, shaped it and gave it life, just as God breathed it into the clay manikin God had shaped and made live as Adam. The Spirit, the giver of life, was his focus, whether in the individual body or in the cosmos, whether in a single political community or the entire human race, whether in the body or the soul. As the body manifested the movements of the soul, visible physical shapes revealed invisible spiritual dynamics of sympathy. All members are both like and unlike one another in the ways they manifest the common force that connects them in one symphony (XII. 7).

Sin marred the story of humanity. As dyads of the horizon, belonging both to spiritual and to material (or animal) existence, human beings embodied two natures. Their greatness and misery came from the co-inherence in them of divine

<sup>23</sup> See Gregory of Nyssa, 'On the Making of Man', ed. by Schaff and Wace, cc. 9. 1–3, 2. 8, 13. 8–17 (pp. 395, 398, 401–02). See also cc. 6. 1, 14. 1, 20. 3–4 (pp. 391–92, 402–03, 410).

and animal, reason deriving from the divine image in which they were made, and passions from animality, along with the animal's instinctual tools of self-preservation and the bestial mode of procreation. As Gregory read Genesis, when Eve, 'the mother of death,' enticed Adam to eat the forbidden fruit, humanity lost the nobility of God's image. Through the sensual pleasure of that offence, the ugly mask of carnal passion overspread the beauty of the divine image, reduced it to invisibility, and changed the originally noble character of human nature into worthless vanity. Reason had been forced to serve the sensual passions, and, indeed, by practice and experience, the human race had multiplied passions beyond anything irrational animals could achieve (xviii. 3, 6–7; xx. 4; xxii. 4–5).

Gregory built his psychology out of ill-matched materials. Convinced that truth had a single source and wisdom (cf. xxii. 1), he pieced together 'heathen wisdom' with the testimony of Scripture. In view of the many points on which they seemed opposed, Gregory gave far greater weight to Scripture than to pagan philosophy, which latter, he thought, reflected only the time-bound and therefore perishable. Drawn from Scripture and given by God to refute pagan teachings (xvii. 2; xxi. 4; xxv. 12), Christian doctrine and above all the doctrines of Christ, God's eternal Word confirming his word in his humanity (i.e. in his physical body), was the hinge on which turned his whole doctrine of humanity's restoration from the ravages of sin.

In some particularly vivid passages, Gregory deployed his exquisite rhetorical skills to demonstrate the power of art to stir whole-hearted empathetic participation in the events of Scripture. His tool was *ekphrasis*, the rhetorical method of conjuring up you-are-there images in the imaginations of hearers or readers. Thus, he evoked anguish and unbounded joy at the reversal of all knowledge when he portrayed Jesus's compassion on the desolate widow of Nain, when he restored her dead son to life. He played on the same reversal of expectations a second time when, with eye-witness vividness, he evoked sickening revulsion at the sight of rotting corpses when he spoke of the opening of Lazarus's tomb and uncomprehending and unspeakable joy when Jesus called Lazarus forth from the tomb alive and whole. In a third verbal illumination, he used the same reversal of nature by grace when he called his readers and hearers to imagine themselves into the risen Christ's apparition to Thomas, the incredulous apostle. Gregory addressed his readers and hearers directly, in the virtual realities of their minds, to touch Christ's body, to probe with their own hands, and feel how deeply the iron penetrated his flesh (xxv. 10–12). But these were tricks of duplicity used at will; in themselves, they gave the illusionistic assurance of artifice.

Against such certainties as could be won by actual or virtual realities, Scripture was full of obscurities and enigmas, witnessing to unutterable mysteries. Philosophy, inflated logic, and sheer vanity misled people, especially contentious people, into overturning the faith by pretending that God's wisdom and judgement were confined to the same limits as their own capacities set for them. Weighing the disparities between pagan philosophy and Scripture, Gregory himself acknowledged that he had little but conjectures and inferences. Some doubtful points could be clarified by observing nature, through sciences such as astronomy, medicine (pharmacology), anatomy, and animal and agrarian husbandry, sciences which Gregory himself consulted in *On the Making of Man* (xxi. 3; xxvi. 1–2; xxvii. 2, 9). As a good teacher, God continued to expand the revelations in Scripture, carefully nurturing human knowledge by miracles, moving by stages from what human beings could grasp easily through stages to more secret mysteries (xxv. 7). Even so, in this world we know as children, he wrote, by comparison with how we shall know after death. Great mysteries, we know only by faith and hope, not as they really are or will be, and our reasonings succeed in exposing one difficulty after another (xiii. 2; xxvi. 2, xxx, xxxii–xxxiv).

Here and now, sustained by philosophy, scientific observation, and revelation, an unbridgeable chasm separates actual Truth, which only Truth itself can know, from what our understanding can reach. To be sure, Truth can be apprehended by the rarest of the rare, people who like the apostle Paul are rapt up into heaven while still in this life; but they see without much understanding (xxii. 3; xxiii. 2; xxvi. 1).

Despite the cognitive abyss between wise and ignorant, humanity was the whole human race, all people who ever were, are, or will be. Every individual fully embodied human nature, even as angelic nature was in each angel (xvi. 17–18; xvii. 3). For our purposes, another aspect of Gregory's cognitive dissonance was telling. His conceptions of the unity of humanity and the continuing unfolding of redemption towards an ultimate consummation led him to think of humanity as ever moving and changing. Evil had its limits, Gregory wrote, but good, deriving from God, was boundless. Through the repentance, forgiveness, and redemption they inspired, misery and the remembrance of misery carried humanity and the entire world forward towards a universal return to God, reversing the fall in Adam (xxi. 2–3; xxii. 5; xxiii. 5). For Gregory, pregnancy was exactly the right metaphor and analogue for this world transformation (xxi. 4; xxiv. 3; xxix. 6; xxx. 33–34). Nature, molding the body within herself, was like a sculptor producing a complete figure by regular, established developmental stages (xxx. 30).

In the Creation, God foresaw in human nature a tendency to evil. He knew how great the mass of humanity would become and how large a proportion of

humanity would fall through the contamination of the divine in humanity by the irrational. Finally, he knew the number of those who would be saved, and in calculating when the end would come, he allowed time enough for the number of the saved to be achieved. You learn from nature, he wrote, how the soul builds the body in gestation. And he envisioned the unfolding body of humanity from the same paradigm. Quoting what he regarded as the equivalent of 'Know Thyself' — the preacher's command, 'Take heed to thyself' (Ecclesiastes 13. 13, in the Vulgate, *cave tibi*) — he characterized this renewal as like the growth of the human fetus from the simplicity of a seed or 'germ', the 'divine seal' imprinted in the soul like an image stamped into wax (XXIX. 6, 11), into the multiplicity of the mature body (XXVI. 1–2; XXVII. 1–9; XXIX. 6, 9–10).

This commonality is the natural basis of what passes for empathy in Gregory's teachings. As applied to human beings, it is grounded in the mind-body connection, but Gregory realized that his doctrines, holding that the body was an instrument played by the mind (XI. 8), were inaccessible to most people, who judged according to what they learned from their physical senses, lived for pleasure, and inclined to evil, deceptively sweet to the senses as it was (XVIII. 7; XX. 4, 9; XVII. 9; XXIX. 3–5). Despite his sweeping vision of a world's renewal, pagans, Jews, and heretics were excluded from this regeneration of the universe (XXII. 5; XXIII. 5; XXV. 1). They did not partake of God's mercy, which he likens to that of a mother feeding an infant, first with milk, then soft food, and later, when the baby gains strength, on solids. They had no share in the process which like natural procreation allowed the divine image in humanity eventually to shine forth in its perfect form (XXIII. 304; XXV. 7; XXX. 33–34; XXVIII. 1–2).

Gregory's simulations of reality in his conception of incremental and universal progress, therefore, contain elements which, had he thought them through, might have subverted his case for universal sympathy. In the undeveloped distinctions between those included and those excluded, and the distinction dividing faithful Christians between the many unknowing and the few enlightened, there was implied at least a proportionality, if not an eternal division between saved and damned. In a morality demanding the imitation of God, this distinction modified human empathy insofar as it was keyed to the archetype of God. In fact, Gregory himself recognized theodiceal inconsistencies in his doctrines.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Although the legitimacy of speaking about theodicy before Leibniz invented and defined the term has been challenged, I follow the latitudinarian principle set forth by Laato and de Moor, to cover a wide range of problems in which 'people have to confront evil and suffering. This widening of the term is justified because Leibniz in his turn was dependent on earlier philosophical, theological, and religious traditions which had dealt with the problem of evil and

First, and most serious of all, he posted the theodiceal paradox that God had created humanity with a predisposition to evil. He compensated for the ruinous consequences of that inclination to sin by providing for the procreation of the human race until the predestined number of saved had been born. Second, Gregory wondered about the purposes of Scripture. Scripture prophesied many catastrophes. What justice did this foretelling serve, if the course of movement towards the Last Things was predestined? Was prophesy somehow for emphasis, to strengthen faith in important matters? And finally, if miracles could be applied in mercy to cure sick individuals, why could they not be used to end disease (xxv. 4, 8–9)? The justice and goodness of God was hard to puzzle out in these regards.

In *On the Making of Man*, Gregory presented a serene, stylized representation of the simulated reality of sympathy in which human fellow feeling (=empathy) figured. He did not find in that treatise a place for the practical results of his doctrines. His *Life of Moses* gives clear evidence of them. There, he takes up the slaughter God commanded Moses to execute upon his own people to purge their guilt in making and worshipping the golden calf. In the historical action, he wrote, Moses ‘purified his people’s guilt with their own blood when the Levites slew them, and appeased the divine by his own anger against the transgressors [i.e. his kindred Israelites]’.<sup>25</sup>

Morally, the lesson for faithful Christians was more extensive, and it stretched to include Gregory’s conception of a people’s organic wholeness. Because the Israelites had agreed to the idolatry and every man in their camp had shared in it, all were punished. By analogy, when someone is scourged for theft, any part of the body struck is lacerated and stripped away, and the pain inflicted on that part spreads through the whole body. When guilt is collective, the important fact is to connect crime with punishment, whether the person punished is the actual criminal. Thus, when some suffer God’s wrath for an offense many have committed, all who witness it can clearly see that, out of mercy, God has chastised some to bring all back from evil.

There is a meaning here for individuals too, Gregory continued. Moses ordered the Levites to strike with the sword their brothers, friends, and neighbours. In Scripture, these terms of kinship do not necessarily carry kindly meanings, and in our own souls, we could find parts of ourselves, especially destructive habits, which could be regarded as kindred and companions who were enemies and who

suffering’. Laato and de Moor, ‘Introduction’, p. xi. Other contributors to *Theodicy in the World of the Bible* followed a more restricted definition.

<sup>25</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, trans. by Malherbe and Ferguson, I. 60 (p. 46).

would kill us if they lived. Thus, he concluded, cruelty towards some which publically expressed God's mercy for the whole was analogous to the ruthlessness with which a person kills in himself the inner self who lives in sin. Following these perceptions, Gregory and his companions could assimilate into their own lives what they found in Moses', recover in this life the image of God and its beauty, and, like Moses, be known by God and become his friends, 'the only thing worthy of honor and desire'.<sup>26</sup>

The mind-body (or matter-spirit) connection was the essential foundation stone of Christian anthropology. Quite varied perspectives on it came from pre-Christian Graeco-Roman and Hebrew antiquity. Conflicting as they were, these authorities required adjudication measured by doctrines of Christ, but as Gregory of Nyssa illustrates, nothing in the amalgam of foundational sources justified an indiscriminate feeling for humanity, and much required highly discriminant and circumstantial empathy. As Christian exegetes knew, the feelings were also subject to personal circumstances, such as surprises of the moment or settled dispositions. 'Sometimes', Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) wrote, 'whilst we are congratulating ourselves that we know great things, we are stunned with a blindness of instantaneous ignorance [...]. [But from this the mind may know] from Whom it has its very knowing. Sometimes', Gregory the Great continued, '[...] when we congratulate ourselves that we have in abundant measure the bowels of pious tenderness, we are struck with a sudden fit of hardness of heart [...]. We learn when to ascribe the good dispositions of piety which we have to God' and the deficient ones to temptations of pride. Sometimes, he also wrote, specifically about the exasperation in some of Job's protests, scholars also realized that the Scriptures they were reading expressed ways of life and thought inaccessible to them. Some passages of Scripture, 'seem harshly to readers of little experience for the sayings of the saints these are unable to understand in the pious sense in which they are spoken, and because they are unskilled to make their own the feelings of the afflicted Saint [in this case, Job]. Therefore it is impossible for them to interpret aright the expressions of grief, for it is a sympathy that lowers itself to his state of suffering that knows how to estimate aright the meaning of the sufferer'.<sup>27</sup>

In the East, Gregory of Nyssa held to a common stance in his comment that, rightly ordered, the body was like a musical instrument played by the mind, but this was a variable rule. Left to their own devices, people reversed this right order.

<sup>26</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, trans. by Malherbe and Ferguson, II. 205–11, 318, 320 (pp. 108–09, 136, 137).

<sup>27</sup> Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, ed. by Marriott, preface c. 7 (pp. 19–20); bk II, c. 49 (pp. 100–01), c. 78 (p. 121).

They judged according to the senses, lived for pleasures sweet to the flesh, and forced the mind to follow the body.<sup>28</sup> All the same, for him and for other theologians, Christian perspectives had added a charismatic dimension to the original mind and body dimensions thanks to the doctrine that Christ lived in the souls of believers through faith and sacraments and, indeed, that through indwelling (or co-inherence) the body was both the dwelling place of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit.

In the West, the African writer Tertullian (before 185–after 222), using a similar metaphor, ignored the charismatic sense of ‘spirit’ by writing that life came from soul (*anima*) and breathing (*spirare*) from spirit (*a spiritu*). Not all animals, he wrote, had both, for some only lived without breathing in that they lacked the ‘tools of the spirit’ (*organa spiritus*) such as lungs and arteries.<sup>29</sup> However, when he wrote about the sacrament of baptism, with the imposition of hands and the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the soul of the baptisand, he asked doubters how human nature (*ingenium*) could call a spirit into water, and, by the laying on of hands, animate its concorporation with another Spirit of such great enlightenment from on high without also allowing God to play sublimity on his organ, that is, on the soul, with holy hands.<sup>30</sup>

Augustine speculated that the soul would retain the ‘organ of the body’ after the resurrection, though it would not need, or use, it for such physical functions as eating.<sup>31</sup> If the flesh were worthless, Augustine argued, the Word would not have become flesh to dwell among us. Indeed, he continued, the Spirit works for our salvation through the flesh. Through Christ and through the preaching of

<sup>28</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, ‘On the Making of Man’, ed. by Schaff and Wace, cc. 6. 1, 11. 8, 13. 9–17, 14. 1, 20. 3–4.

<sup>29</sup> Tertullian, *De anima*, ed. by Waszink, x. 2 (p. 12). See Tertullian’s judgement that while the soul was superior to the flesh being next to God, still the flesh had its glory in that it was the vessel containing the soul. With an emphasis not always shared by later Christians, Tertullian declared that God had constructed the flesh in his image, given life to it like his own life by breathing into it, and endowed it with dominion and mysteries. By the senses’s instrumentality, the body nurtured and sustained the soul, notably through hearing and speaking God’s word. The soul could not live without using the flesh. Though the flesh was the soul’s servant, it was also its consort and co-heir even in things of this world and, if so, then why not in eternal things as well? Tertullian, *De resurrectione*, ed. and trans. by Evans, VII. 9–13 (pp. 26–34).

<sup>30</sup> Tertullian, *Traité du baptême*, ed. and trans. by Refoulé, VIII. 1 (pp. 76–77). Tertullian commented that the blessing Jacob gave Joseph’s sons, Ephraim and Manasses, confusing the elder with the younger in the laying-on of hands, was a deformation of the blessing later given in Christ. See also Tertullian, *Traité du baptême*, ed. and trans. by Refoulé, IX. 2 (p. 78).

<sup>31</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, XIII. 13. 22 (I, 14; II, 405). *Epistulae* 148. 16 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, IV, 346–47).

the apostles and the written word which we hear and read by means of the flesh, through all such works of the flesh, the Spirit plays on the flesh as its organ for salvation, and accordingly Christ gave his flesh to be eaten.<sup>32</sup>

Ambrose of Milan (c. 334/40–97) both answered Tertullian's question and realized how empathy intersected with aesthetics in the metaphor of the organ. The avaricious, he wrote, had enslaved their souls to indulgence of the body; but the righteous use their bodies as instruments, organs, of the soul. In them, the soul works the body as a craftsman would, wishing to put the body's service to good account. It makes the body resound like a musical instrument, with virtues, now plucking the strings of chastity, now those of temperance, playing the song of sobriety, the sweetness of purity or the beauty of virginity. All the while, the player's feelings move in concord with the music ('modulator compatitur organo suo'), responding to beautiful and honourable songs with like feelings. For so, Ambrose continued, people are affected by what they see as well as by what they hear. Scripture affirms that this is true. Eyes should be kept from entrapments, and ears from harlot-words.<sup>33</sup> Ambrose left open the question whether through something like the sympathies of music God's compassion is also stirred in synchrony with the souls he plays upon as his instruments.

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Awareness, such as Gregory the Great noted, that one's own capacity for empathy varied from one circumstance to another combined with the conception expressed by Gregory of Nyssa and shared by many other writers that humanity followed a double movement towards the end of times. That movement led the few towards increasing affinity with God and the many towards the ruin gathering as the charity of the multitudes grew cold and false Christians flamboyantly expanded their capacities for carnal passions and hypocrisies.

With many individual and cultural variations, the essential cognitive context of empathy survived, especially as monastic traditions renewed and rearticulated themselves. It will be helpful for this volume to locate one point of continuity far beyond the patristic age. As my point of reference, I take a treatise by Aelred, abbot of the English Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx (c. 1110–67), *On the Boy Jesus at the Age of Twelve*. As in discussing Gregory of Nyssa, we find Aelred's simulation of empathy in a theological treatise counterbalanced by practical difficulties in another genre of moral inquiry.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Willems, XXVII. 5 (p. 272).

<sup>33</sup> Ambrose, *De bono mortis*, ed. by Schenkl, p. 726.

<sup>34</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Iesu puero duodenni*, ed. by Hoste, Talbot, and Vander Plaetse.

Written in Aelred's mature years (c. 1153–57), this short treatise was among numerous works he addressed to others in need of ascetic or devotional guidance. He wrote it at the request of Yvo, a monk of Rievaulx's daughter house, Wardon. Yvo had tried and failed to raise the temperature of his spiritual ardor by meditating on an unusual passage in Luke's gospel, the only scriptural story about Jesus as a child (Luke 2. 40–52). This passage relates how, when he was twelve, Jesus went with his parents to Jerusalem for the festival. After travelling a day on the homeward journey, his parents found him missing from among their companions. Three days later, they found him discoursing with scholars and elders in the Temple, amazing all and sundry with his understanding. Confused by the circumstances and his explanation, they took him in hand and returned to Nazareth, where he grew in wisdom and stature.

The Lucan passage focuses on the divine enigma of Jesus's two natures. As God, he was perfect and all-knowing; as human being, 'increasing in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man' (Luke 2. 52; and compare Luke 2. 40). Aelred's treatise identifies several areas of empathy as an essential human feeling: Aelred's empathy for himself and between himself and Yvo, the empathetic relationships binding Aelred and Jesus and Yvo and Jesus, the obligation of abbots and others in authority in monastic communities to subordinate their individual devotional needs and aspirations to the benefit of the community as a whole, and supremely, the exemplary and self-sacrificial empathy of Jesus for humankind. The charismatic force of Jesus indwelling in the soul had considerable weight in Aelred's invisible diagram of intersecting empathies and relationships.

By faith, Jesus is conceived and born and grows to maturity in believers. He recapitulates in them what Luke wrote of his coming to life in utero and development in early childhood (*On the Boy Jesus*, I. 10; II. 13). Believers were born in him and he in them. Born in a common humanity, they were reborn sacramentally by being ingrafted into Christ's body through baptism and by consuming his body, the bread of angels, and drinking his blood (I. 4, 7). Christ's charisma is essential to breaking down inherent hardness of heart and spreading charity, and to entering into the secret places of heaven, the Holy of Holies of divine Love (III. 19, 21–22).

In this treatise on fellow feeling, love, and friendship, western Christianity's increasing dread of, and preoccupation with, the approaching end of the world sharpens the severity of Aelred's border between those inside the ambit of empathy and outsiders. The place of Christ as the indispensable fountainhead of love results in the icy exclusion of the Jews who, in Aelred's mind, enviously rejected Christ because of God's compassion towards the Gentiles (II. 14–18). Christ, Aelred wrote, had cast them away. They would be converted and suffer hunger

like dogs, but only as dark was falling in the world's last days. Aelred tallied other outsiders. At the same time as light turned from the Jews to the Gentiles, the kings of the earth persecuted Christians and put them to the sword. The temples of the heathen, devil-shrines, stood strong; and martyrs were cut apart with a thousand torments. Christ laughed at torments and persecutors. Better days came with the conversion of secular rulers, the demolition of temples, and rededication of shrines to the memories of martyrs. At that very moment, new enemies arose in the form of heretics, and in Aelred's day, dangerous times, iniquity and the wicked lives of false Christians threatened to drown the aging world. Unlike Yvo and other faithful, Jews, persecutors, heretics, and renegades stood far from the loving protection of Jesus's strong right hand.

Horror of this exclusion counts among the techniques Aelred applies to induce the sense and ardor of direct empathetic bonding, a variation on the contrasting incentives of the bliss of heaven and the agonies of hell. Aelred departs strikingly from the cool intellectualism represented by Gregory of Nyssa. By contrast, he arouses intense emotional engagement. He challenges Yvo's visual imagination to picture Christ standing before him, his eyes meeting Yvo's directly as Yvo interrogates Christ and the Blessed Virgin in intimate dialogue. Holding out the reward ardently desired by Yvo — to be set afire with impassioned charity — he draws on the Song of Songs, as many commentators on Scripture before him had done, unfolding an allegory of the soul's erotic ecstasy in union with Christ. With one kiss, one brush of Christ's lips, Aelred promised, Christ would penetrate Yvo's most inward being with such celestial pleasure that he would scream with joy (III. 22–24). At the climax of his treatise, he urged Yvo to strive for ever heightened pleasure through self-abasement, imitating the penitent woman in the house of Simon the Pharisee. Uninhibited by Simon's presence, the woman cast herself before Christ, washed his feet with her tears, dried them with her hair, and anointed them with costly, fragrant ointment.

Meticulously inventorying what Yvo should envision himself doing and what emotions he could experience as spectator of his own erotic abasement before Christ, Aelred wrote that with scorn for the equivalents of Pharisees in his day, he should not stop weeping and kissing the feet of Jesus until he heard from Jesus's own lips the words of pardon. Then, as he had done with the woman, he might in compassion allow Yvo to dry his feet with hair, once used for wanton worldly pleasure, and he might kiss Yvo's lips, once, like the woman's, defiled with many sins.

Having ascended the heights of contemplation for Yvo's benefit, Aelred descends as he brings his treatise to an end. As charity, empathy bound individuals to neighbours as well as to God. The crowning delight of empathy between the soul and God was most inward, when the heart tasted God's own sweetness.

However, the strength of empathy as brotherly love required individuals to defer the joys of intimacy with Jesus in order to serve the peace and unity of their communities (III. 31).

What were the realities in which Aelred lived? Walter Daniel's biography of Aelred, his abbot, witnesses to the enmities in the community of Rievaulx, some directed against Aelred, and Aelred himself records a ferocious carnality conflicting with the ecstatic spiritual height he prescribed to Yvo. A few years after writing his letter to Yvo, Aelred was called to investigate a disturbance at the priory of Watton, a Gilbertine community of men and women near York.<sup>35</sup> Sometime earlier, a four-year-old girl had been placed in Watton by the Archbishop of York. She grew to adulthood there, and though she took vows as a member of the community, she found a life of monastic penitence and obedience uncongenial; she left a trail of misdeeds behind her. The crisis came when she entered into a liaison with a lay brother in the community and became pregnant. When they discovered her offence, the other female members of Watton were terror-stricken by thoughts of the discredit that would befall their house when the shame became known at the child's birth. Their machinations to keep the pregnancy secret included extreme measures. The errant nun was placed under strict confinement. The errant lay brother, who had absconded, was entrapped, and the nun, forced to castrate him, was smeared with the blood of his severed member and placed under even stricter confinement in chains. Miraculously, the child disappeared from the nun's womb without any signs that a pregnancy had ever happened and the chains fell from her body.

Aelred was asked to investigate this event, with its vengeful justice. Given his highly developed sense for empathy, his judgement has considerable importance for us. While he disapproved the severity of the avenging nuns, and the brothers who had assisted them, he found much cause in the case to praise God's mercy. He found in his investigations an example of how God exercised justice to extend mercy by way of instructing and arousing the devotion of the community. We are in the presence of a theodiceal rationale very similar to the one Gregory of Nyssa offered for Moses' slaughter of Israelites after the profanation by worship of the golden calf. Aelred excluded Jews, persecutors, heretics, and false Christians from the authentic *communio sanguinis* of the Body of Christ with implacable bitterness. The limits of empathy allowed by the cognitive system Aelred inherited from the Church Fathers are drawn sharply by the equanimity with which he both censured the nuns' intemperance and praised the mercy of God working

<sup>35</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *De quodam miraculum mirabile*, ed. by Migne.

through their savagery as a lesson in how God balanced justice with mercy. The disparity between the idyllic portrayal of fraternal love in Rievaulx, which Aelred painted in his treatise *On Spiritual Friendship*, and the communal in-fighting recorded by his friend and biographer, Walter Daniel, gives another important index of cognitive dissonance over the extent of humanity, dissonance in painful search of resolution from the age of Tertullian onwards and always meeting the same dilemma of how cruel revenge could be a work of love.

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As Gregory of Nyssa, Aelred, and many others who employed artificial simulations of reality recognized, their conceptions of empathy for themselves, other human beings, and God were flawed. Others, both before and after the era of concern to us, put their fingers squarely on the main problem, the point at which radical doubt about all simulations began.

The early Greek philosopher Xenophanes of Colophon (c. 570–475 BCE), conceived of God as abstract perfection. He brushed aside the quarrelsome, envious, self-assertive deities of all mythologies with a single contemptuous dismissal. Men make gods in their own images, he wrote. That is why Egyptians worship dark-skinned gods and the gods of the Thracians have red hair. If lions and oxen could make gods, he added for good measure, they would look like lions or oxen. Centuries later, in Amsterdam, another philosopher, Baruch Spinoza (1652–77), took up Xenophanes' argument, but with more radical metaphors and intent. In pursuit of the most abstract way of conceiving God, he took his metaphors not from the finite world of concrete living creatures, but from geometrical figures and propositions. He wrote that, if circles and triangles could picture God, they would imagine him as circles or triangles. Spinoza's objective was to abandon all theological propositions which represented God in human terms, including the anthropomorphism of the Hebrew Bible and the doctrine of Jesus as God and man. 'We are not able to imagine God', he wrote, 'though we can understand him', meaning, he added, the he could understand some of God's attributes while being ignorant of many others.<sup>36</sup>

All Christian thinking about human nature, including empathy, hinged on what Xenophanes and, more clearly, Spinoza rejected as a categorical error: namely the categorical confusion which occurs when faith accepts simulations as reality, conceiving God in human terms and, indeed, in creating the humanity of Christ as the mediating link by which human beings can transcend their human-

<sup>36</sup> Spinoza, 'Letter 60 (56) to Hugo Boxel', trans. by Elwes, p. 386.

ity and enter into the life of God. Was not the aspiration of mystics, including Hadewijch and Eckhart, to 'become God' the apotheosis of humanity? The cornerstone of Christian anthropology was the statement in Genesis that God made man in his own image and according to his likeness (Genesis 1. 26–27). Chiefly through the doctrines of the apostle Paul, the New Testament firmly carried language of images and imitation from human origins to the means of redemption and the ultimate goal, everlasting communion with Christ in Paradise.

Christ was 'the image and reflection of God' (1 Corinthians 11. 7), 'the image of the invisible God' (Colossians 1. 15). Salvation came when believers' souls conformed with the image of the Son of God (Romans 8. 29). Paul admonished others to imitate him as he imitated Christ (1 Corinthians 4. 61, 11. 1). Even then, in this life, we can know only imperfectly in faith, as one may know only a reflection in a mirror or in an enigma, until in Paradise we should see him face to face. Then we would be like him, another author wrote, because we should see him as he is (1 John 3. 2). The immense authority of Scripture made the language and conceptions of visual art the framework, the warp and weft, of Christian anthropology and, above all, of cognition, including feelings. Just as one's thought moved from a visible portrait to its absent subject, moving from image to archetype was the model for passing from the visible, material world to the invisible, spiritual forms and powers creating and sustaining the visible.

Simulations, deeply believed existential identities between image and archetype, make implacable claims to truth. At least from Late Roman times, honour paid to imperial images, and dishonour inflicted upon them, were regarded as though they had been veneration or contempt shown the emperor and his family in the flesh. Eventually, the eighth- and ninth-century Iconoclastic Controversy, sanctified by hybridization with the doctrine that Christ's two natures linked the spheres of matter and spirit, provided the long-desired theological explanation warranting the veneration of sacred images. But the believed identity between archetype and image had been present in Christian art much earlier. In his miracle collections, Gregory of Tours recorded that a Jew stole and then stabbed an image of Christ, causing it to bleed. The people who recovered the icon punished the sacrilege by crushing the Jew under stones. Another picture depicting Christ naked expressed a desire for a modest covering, to be spared the shame of nakedness.<sup>37</sup>

There were many alternatives to the categorical confusion of simulation and reality in various anathematized belief systems, in apostasy, in magic and popular religion, in accessible paganisms. However, paradoxically, this centrality of mimetic replication also formed the nucleus of cognitive dissonance and instabil-

<sup>37</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. by Van Dam, cc. 21, 22 (pp. 40–41).

ity in the structure of simulation. For, while the account of the creation given in Genesis delivered the image as a fingerprint of God in the clay of humanity and a way to know the divine, the account of the giving of the Law rendered in Exodus forbade the making and veneration of religious images and introduced thereby the rule of iconoclasm.

This cognitive dissonance has considerable importance for the story of empathy in Christian tradition; for its doctrine of imitation links paradigmatic cruelty as a form of love by God with that practiced by believers in the name of God and for love of God. The Last Judgement, with its irreversible sentences of eternal beatitude or eternal torment, drove generation after generation of believers to ransack the Scriptures searching out every scrap of evidence of patterns in judgements God had visited on his people in long centuries of covenanting with them. Scripture's juxtaposition of love and cruelty posed many enigmas. Why so often did the innocent suffer and the wicked triumph? Was the sin of Adam and Eve over and done with in a moment? How could the brevity of the crime be commensurate with the punishment of toil and pain as conditions of existence as long as it lasted, followed by everlasting death? Was their disobedience so horrible that it called for an impossible atonement, the incarnation of God himself born in his purity to be the only sacrifice sufficient to redeem the sin of primal corruption? Knowing all things from before the beginning and being omnipotent, could not God have averted both the primordial sin of Adam and Eve and the need for Christ's exceptionally horrible death? What was the connection between the love that God was and the universal misery of the human condition? It was no wonder that three great monuments of the Late Roman and early medieval period were theodicies, justifications of the ways of God to human beings: Augustine's *City of God*, provoked by doubts raised when Rome fell to the barbarians (410), Pope Gregory the Great's vast commentary on the book of Job (*Moralia*), an explanation of why God permitted Satan, on a wager, to afflict with every agony short of death an innocent man, exemplary in virtue and piety; and Boethius's (c. 475/80–524) *Consolation of Philosophy*, a book written by a man imprisoned and about to be executed as a martyr, reasoning paradoxically without a single reference to Scripture, Christ, or Church how a good and just God could allow supreme evil to befall good people. At least by the end of the second century, an enemy of Christians reproached them for their doctrine of the Last Judgement, the teaching, as he put it, that 'God will come down and bring fire like a torturer'.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. by Chadwick, iv. 11, 13 (pp. 190–92).

The danger which turned imagery into idolatry was ingrained in biblical tradition. The Prophet Isaiah had expressed it sharply in his account of a carpenter who bowed down and worshiped a carving which he had made with his own hands according to a design in his own mind (Isaiah 40. 18–20). The danger lay in accepting the duplicity of images, giving the virtual reality honour due the actual reality or, even worse, like Isaiah's carpenter, revering an image which was an image of an image, and not one of any reality at all. Early Christian writers easily recognized this fatal error in their enemies, including professedly Christian ones.<sup>39</sup>

As they reasoned through dilemmas of moral choice, interpreters of Scripture realized too that what seemed to be feelings of mercy and compassion could be actual cruelty when they nurtured inherent tendencies to vice. This was the case at every level of human government; when doting parents neglected to discipline their wayward offspring, sparing the rod and closing the gates of heaven to their own children, plunging them into the fires of hell; when abbots, spiritual physicians of their communities, failed to apply excruciating remedies to save their brethren from spiritual death; and when imperial officials hesitated to impose the full severity of the laws to restrain, not only criminals but also wrong believers, schismatics, and heretics, from casting themselves, as spiritual suicides, into the pit of eternal damnation. If they neglected extreme measures, their gentleness would be cruelty.<sup>40</sup>

In all such cases, indulgent lenience was collaboration in sin, a failure of charity. God did not yield to such misguided and destructive compassion. To the contrary, in this world, he acted with true mercy and severely afflicted those he loved to save them from the eternal torments of Hell. Forty years of total blindness was not too harsh a chastisement to save a beloved servant, for God measured out strength to endure proportionate with chastisement.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Athanasius of Alexandria, *'Life of Antony' and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. by Gregg, c. 74 (pp. 74–75). Antony found a defect in the relationship pagan philosophers drew between the Logos and the human soul. For, reasoning backwards, they argued that God, the archetypal mind, was changeable since its image, the human soul, was changeable, and 'what holds true for the image necessarily holds true also for that of which it is the image'. See also Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, p. 46: Clement of Alexandria rebuked pagan idol-worshippers for venerating 'an image of an image,' while crediting pagan philosophers for recognizing that the true image of God was in the Word, and the authentic 'image of an image' was the human soul patterned on the Logos. On the ambivalences of the image in Christian tradition, see the expert formulations, of quite rare insight, in Kessler, *Neither God nor Man*.

<sup>40</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. by Zimmerman, IV. 19 (pp. 212–13). Augustine, *Retractionum libri II*, ed. by Mutzenbecher, Letter 185, c. 7 (p. 6). See also below, notes 48–64.

<sup>41</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. by Zimmerman, IV. 11 (pp. 201–03).

The true way would have been to obey Scripture, which forbade analogies between God and anything known or knowable by human beings. Such analogies erred, and even worse, they were guesswork since they were grounded in human knowledge and ideas, ultimately irrelevant to the divine. They did not proclaim God. Quite to the contrary, they were idols.<sup>42</sup> And yet, this was precisely what Christians themselves did. Authorities, such as Irenaeus of Lyon, denounced their enemies as heretics for torturing Scripture to match their own ideas and venerating figments of their own imaginations. Reflecting on earlier stages of his own spiritual journey, Augustine determined that he had installed a phantom of his own making in his heart and worshiped his error as his God, his idol. But where, he asked, could he flee to escape himself?<sup>43</sup>

The centrepiece of the Church's contentious history in Late Antiquity was the mystery of divine love in the redemption of the world; but, as that history played itself out in doctrine and politics, believers fought to the death for the simulations in their minds, 'satiat[ing]', as Gibbon wrote, 'without restraint, the exquisite rancor of theological hatred'.<sup>44</sup> A contemporary, Hilary of Poitiers (c. 310–67), captured the savagery reached, even by the middle decades of the fourth century. The faith had become a matter of the changing times, he wrote, rather than of the enduring gospels. Year after year, new, conflicting creeds were churned out. In a dangerous and pitiable way, there had come to be as many 'faiths' as there were convictions (*voluntates*), as many doctrines as there were ways of doing things. Blasphemies multiplied with vices. Creeds were written one way and understood in others. 'Yearly — monthly, in fact, we issue decrees about God, we recant what we have decreed, we defend out recantations, we anathematize those whom we have [earlier] defended. We condemn either the doctrines of others we have absorbed or our own doctrines absorbed by others, and ripping each other apart, we destroy each other.'<sup>45</sup>

Remembering the old axiom identifying image and archetype — 'the subject is in the portrait' — rather late in these controversies, one of the most learned and irenic of theologians, Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662) wrote: 'God always

<sup>42</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, trans. by Malherbe and Ferguson, II. 265 (p. 96).

<sup>43</sup> Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. by Verheijen, IV. 7. 12 (p. 46); Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by Chadwick, pp. 59–60.

<sup>44</sup> Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 21 (I, 708).

<sup>45</sup> Hilary of Poitiers, *Letter to Constantius*, ed. by Migne, I. 4, 5 (cols 565–67). Hilary was appealing to Emperor Constantius II for a peaceful settlement in favour of the Council of Nicaea (325) and against the Arians, whom, in fact, Constantius favoured. Hilary published his true judgement of the Emperor after Constantius's death.

wills to become man in the worthy.’<sup>46</sup> Hounded by his enemies from Constantinople to Rome, Maximus was repeatedly tried by judges prejudiced against him and sent several times into exile. Finally, with three companions, he was sentenced to have his tongue and right hand amputated and to be sent again into exile, this time to die.

In every stage of the Late Roman and early medieval periods, Christians were pressed to find God’s love at work in catastrophe. For the Alexandrine Origen (c. 185–c. 254), one of the founders of Christian theology, what distinguished the cruelty of demons from God’s was that evil demons (including those who inhabited images of pagan gods) afflicted human beings out of malice and to take revenge against people who dishonoured them by exorcising them out of statues and human souls and bodies. By contrast, God punished for the sake of reforming the errant. Thus, after Jesus had been crucified by the envious, God caused Jerusalem to be destroyed, laid desolate, and abandoned because ‘the people who inhabited that place [were] unworthy to share human life’. Origen held that, by destroying Jerusalem and scattering its inhabitants (the Jews driven into Diaspora), God actually spared its people, the crucifiers, to keep them from sinking even more deeply into wickedness.

Jerusalem, Origen continued, was punished for its wrongful punishment of Jesus, but God also used the Crucifixion as an act of mercy. For, as a holy father, he used the death of Jesus, the willing sacrifice, as he used the death of a grain of wheat, to bring forth much fruit, the birth of the Christian people, which instantly followed the Crucifixion. Then Gentiles, those who had been strangers to God and outsiders to the Covenant and far from truth, were called in. The guiltless Jesus’s punishment allowed them to hear the truth, and, by a divine miracle, to accept it. So too, those who suffered and died as martyrs for Christianity conquered demons and, as martyrdoms increased, proved to demons that their defeat was permanent. The vanquished spirits feared returning to take vengeance. By putting off their bodies for their religion, martyrs destroyed Satan’s army.<sup>47</sup>

Individual afflictions, however extreme, were also interpreted as outpourings of God’s love, miracles of vengeance — punishments, inhibitions, or exemplary warnings — to correct those prone to destroy themselves. Augustine remembered God intervening in his own wanderings far from truth as his laughing torturer, beating him with red-hot rods.<sup>48</sup> On another occasion, Augustine drew together

<sup>46</sup> Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*, p. 326.

<sup>47</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. by Chadwick, VIII. 41–44 (pp. 482–84).

<sup>48</sup> Morrison, *Conversion and Text*, pp. 7, 13–14, 47.

with singular clarity the intricate crossings of apparent opposites in Christian theodicies. From what we have already found, it is obvious that Christian writers were reshaping a repertory of scriptural authorities in which cruelty converged with God's steadfast love. The educating pain of the Late Roman teacher's rod blended in common wisdom with the physical punishment from loving fathers in the Old Testament. 'My son, do not shrink from the Lord's discipline [...]. The Lord chastises the one he loves, even as a father does the son in whom he delights' (Proverbs 3. 11–12). The love between the divine Father and Christ, his Son, and their love for the human race, was thought to have been supremely manifested in the sacrificial agony of the Crucifixion, foreshadowed when God tested the steadfast love and faithfulness of Abraham by demanding the sacrifice of his only son, Isaac, a test satisfied and a demand rescinded at the last moment.

Augustine's fusion of the diverse themes that dovetailed even violent punishment with love came as he reflected on an extraordinary passage in Scripture: namely, Christ's reference to himself as a hen sheltering her chicks with her body. In the Gospel story, the passage comes as Jesus is entering his last days. He grieves over Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and those whom God sends to it. He had wanted to protect Jerusalem's children with his own body, as a hen shelters her chicks, but he was spurned. He warns that the city will be laid waste and the people will not see him again until they welcome him as the one coming in the Lord's name (Matthew 23. 37–39; Luke 13. 33–35).

Augustine expanded upon this common barnyard metaphor to include the hen protecting her egg from a scorpion. Then he turned to his core concern, the fall of Rome to the Goths, which had plunged orthodox Christians into a new order full of affliction and the dangers of ever darker and more shattering crises of soul. For they had among themselves some who, confiding in earthly security, trusted in and pursued material goods, hoping to keep them forever. Reversals of their hopes embittered them. Under adversity, their blasphemies plagued and subverted others treacherously, as scorpions strike with their tails. Like the hen protecting her own, Augustine declared, Christ is defending the egg of hope. He protects his chicks with all he has, feathers bristling, wildly agitated wings, uncontrollable distress cries oscillating up and down the whole scale of modulations. He rips the blasphemer-scorpions apart and eats them. But this savagery has a merciful objective. For, being devoured by Christ, the blasphemer-scorpions are changed into his body. On earth, they know pain. In heaven, incorporated into the body of Christ, they are crowned with glory.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Sermo 105. 8. 11–10, 13 (Augustine, *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 623–25).

Hell was the supreme monument of cruelty as a work of love. Tertullian gave classic expression to the rejoicing the saints would find in that manifestation of divine goodness. Roman arenas and the spectacles they housed seethed with idolatry. They were inhabited by multitudes of diabolic spirits. Christians should not defile themselves by going as spectators to circus or theatre. But what a spectacle, what glory, was in store for them at the Last Judgement, when they would see the world consumed in one flame! The powerful of this world, persecutors who had raged against Christ's own, the worldly philosophers, poets and actors, gladiators — all ministers of sin — would toss and boil and bubble in the flames before the Carpenter's Son, who would give the saints the joy of seeing it all. Indeed, by faith, they could already savour the sight in their imaginations.<sup>50</sup>

Centuries later, this expectancy still flourished and found a cool and rational advocate in St Thomas Aquinas (1225–74). Punishments of hell admonished living members of the Church to repent of their sins and follow godly ways. Those already in paradise, the saints, he wrote, would know completely the sufferings of the damned. Logic told him that they could not feel pity, since, if they did, they would be susceptible to pain in heaven, which could not be the case. Rather, they would be thankful to God for his mercy towards themselves, and they would be satiated with joy in the pain of the damned because it perfected God's justice.

Thomas had no reassurance for those who expected that the torments of Hell would not last forever but would end, since the deed of wickedness the agonies punished had only lasted for a finite time, and that all, including demons, would be saved and return to God. This could not be so, Thomas argued, again following logic, for if the blessedness of the saved was eternal, so must be the punishment of the wicked. Demons and men obstinate in their lack of charity must suffer forever, since they were incapable of repentance. Nor did it matter if the damned had performed acts of mercy and even persevered in them. For wicked people doing such acts and dying in mortal sin could be saved neither by faith nor by good works.<sup>51</sup>

Living into the image-likeness to God as they conceived it, human beings veined their love for God and one another with cruelty. The apostle Paul left an axiom for personal and communal action which, taken out of its original context,

<sup>50</sup> Tertullian, *Les Spectacles*, ed. and trans. by Turcan, 8, 26, 30 (pp. 154–70, 292–94, 316–28).

<sup>51</sup> Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. by Gilby and others, 3a. Suppl. to P. 3, Q. 94, 97–99. Gregory the Great taught similarly that the damned burned in hell so that the redeemed could see in God all the joys they experienced and in the damned all the torments they escaped, learning thereby what gratitude they owed God. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. by Zimmerman, iv. 24 (p. 256).

was applied to the most diverse situations: he advised the Christians at Corinth to hand a delinquent 'over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh so that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord' (1 Corinthians 5. 5). Devout parents, especially fathers, were called upon to imitate God, who as a father chastised his beloved children to correct and save them. By the same token, devout children were called upon to reject and abandon unbelieving or imperfectly believing parents. The acts of martyrs praised believers whose steadfastness in love of God strengthened them to disregard the affection of family, when they begged them to yield to the Roman authorities to save their lives. 'We abhor even our parents', one author wrote, 'if they stand between God and us.'<sup>52</sup>

Memoirs of female martyrs praise especially the resoluteness with which, loving God unto death and in obedience to him, they abandoned family, property, and possessions.<sup>53</sup> Under persecution, three young women of Saloniki, 'full of the Holy Spirit', hid the 'tablets, books, parchments, codices and pages of the impious Christians', which they were used to reading devoutly, and fled to refuge in the mountains (IV. 2; V. 1, 7–8). Before their flight, they had kept the contraband writings secret from their relatives as from their worst enemies, fearing that they would betray them. Asked specifically, one of the women answered that her father, who had known nothing about her contraband literature, also knew nothing about her hiding place (IV. 4, 6). Arrested, they embraced the grace which God showered upon them by allowing them to be burned alive so that, suffering for a short space of time, they could defeat the devil and his host of demons, win the crown of glory, and enter the company of angels praising God forever (II. 3). In a transvaluation equivalent to the equation of cruelty (in rejecting desperate parents) with piety, when the sentencing judge called their resolution 'madness', one answered, 'it is not madness, but piety' (III. 2, VI. 2). Two of the women, being pregnant, were allowed to give birth before they burned, and because of their youth, others were remanded to custody.

'The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas' likewise portrays two young women who were arrested with a number of other Christians, these in North Africa, the one having recently given birth and the other near birthing.<sup>54</sup> A key element in this story, much of which appears to have been written by Perpetua herself, is the increasingly frantic efforts of Perpetua's father to persuade her to

<sup>52</sup> Ponticus the Deacon, *Life and Passion of Cyprian*, ed. by Roberts and Donaldson, c. 11 (p. 271).

<sup>53</sup> 'The Martyrdom of Agapē, Irenē, Chionē, and Companions', ed. and trans. by Musurillo, cc. 4–6 (pp. 286–93).

<sup>54</sup> 'The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas', ed. and trans. by Musurillo, pp. 112, 114–19.

submit to the Roman judge. She would not heed his anguished pleas that, if she stood fast in her faith, she would destroy her whole family. She was deaf when he begged her to take pity on his age and remember the favouritism he had shown her among his children. She had regrets when she thought that the father who was writhing in anguish because of the danger that beset her was the only member of her family who would grieve her suffering (c. 5). All the same, as her father's suffering grew increasingly unrestrained, she pitied only with detachment the miseries besetting his old age. Until she was allowed to nurse her baby, she was beset with physical and emotional pains, but they subsided when the baby was taken to her in prison (c. 5). Her father had passionately urged her to relent for the sake of her child. At a certain point, such was her implacability that her father refused to deliver the baby to her again, and at that moment, the child ceased desiring her breast and she was relieved of the need to provide for her child. Her only concern then was to intercede for the healing and peace of her long-dead brother's soul. Shortly before she was thrown to the beasts, a dream assured her that, aided by her prayers, his sufferings had ended. In another dream just before her death struggles in the arena, she saw herself changed into a man, victor in her fight against the devil (cc. 7–8, 10).

Accounts of children, both male and female, abandoning their families to follow the monastic life also exhibit cruelty as an aspect of wholehearted love of God. Indeed, when one disciple faltered and went back to the comforts of his father's house, Jerome called him to return to the desert. The devil, Jerome wrote, was trying to kill Christ in Heliodorus, the disciple. Heliodorus must save himself, brush his clinging relatives aside, ignore his distraught mother, tread upon his father prostrate at the threshold, and flee to the Cross. 'Cruelty', Jerome wrote, 'is a kind of piety in this matter.' As models for the young man to follow, Jerome held up his own iron will, stony heart, and flinty resolve, acquired by bitter experience. He promised, as he himself had learned, that love of Christ and fear of Hell would break the chains binding Heliodorus to home and family.<sup>55</sup>

In another account we learn of a young woman who, failing to persuade her parents to allow her to enter a convent, escaped the ties of their love, disguised herself as a man, and lived thirty years as a monk in the diocese of Tours, revealing her secret three days before she died. We learn also of male monastics, retreating from the sight of women, sharply and permanently turning away even from the women closest to them in their former lives. After long years of no communication, a son conceded to his mother the briefest glimpse, never to be repeated.

<sup>55</sup> Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. by Labourt, Letter 14 to Heliodorus, pp. 33–45, esp. 2. 3, 3. 3 (pp. 35–36).

As death came near, a husband allowed his wife to come to his bedside. Though they loved each other deeply, he had left her decades earlier to obey the call to priesthood and celibacy. He still 'loved his wife as a brother loves his sister, but he avoided her as he would an enemy', sending her abruptly away even from their last visit when, as he said, he found desire still aflame in the ashes.<sup>56</sup>

Despite its intent that monastic discipline not drive professed religious beyond their strength, the *Rule* of St Benedict makes it clear that abbots should govern their communities with the firmness of wise physicians applying, without the lethal negligence that masqueraded as mercy, powers described as fomentations and ointments, cauterization, beating, and amputation.<sup>57</sup> Gregory the Great underscores this medicinal cruelty in recalling his own judgement as abbot against a monk who, as a physician, had nursed Gregory through many illnesses with skill and patience. In violation of the monastic rule of poverty, the monk, Justus, had hidden three gold pieces for himself. Discovering this offence, Gregory felt it necessary to ignore Justus's goodness displayed in medical care and to determine a punishment that would purge Justus of his guilt and teach others by the terror of the sentence to avoid concealing their misdeeds. Justus had fallen mortally ill, but despite his desperate pleas and his tears of contrition, Gregory forbade anyone to help him or to be with him. Moreover he ordered that dying alone, Justus be buried alone, not with other deceased brothers in the monastic cemetery but in a dung pit. He should be buried there publically, with his three gold pieces, and cursed by the whole community standing by. Thirty days after his death and burial, feeling compassion for Justus, Gregory ordered that the Eucharist be offered daily for Justus's soul, and after another thirty days Justus revealed to his natural brother that he had been restored to communion in heaven.<sup>58</sup>

From Antiquity on, all governments were analysed according to the same moral paradigm, from the simplest level (the nuclear family household) to the

<sup>56</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, trans. by Van Dam, no. 16 (pp. 30–31). Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. by Zimmerman, IV. 4.12 (pp. 203–04). Rosenwein, "Even the Devil (Sometimes) has Feelings", p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> E. g. Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule*, trans. by Fry, cc. 27–28, 30, 64, 70 (pp. 51–53, 54, 87–88, 93). The powerful and enigmatic combination of acting cruelly for holy reasons occurs in two other essays in this collection. See especially MacCormack's reflections on the hybridization of both cruelty and mercy in Augustine's seeking imperial coercion of the Donatists and in his paradigm of God's offer of salvation for those living in this world and his everlasting condemnation of the impenitent to the pains of hell. See also Kieckhefer's observations on inquisitors' implacable hunger for justice even as they were seen to exemplify profound brotherly love.

<sup>58</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. by Zimmerman, IV. 4.7 (pp. 267–72).

most complex (the city-state and empire). With the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, the entire hierarchy of governmental constitutions came to be conceived as deriving from and reflecting the heavenly monarchy of God the Father. Thus, the rationale for imposing cruelty as a method of redemptive love was extended not only to family households, local churches, and monastic communities, but also to imperial government. The classic statement of this rationale for imperial intervention in religious matters came in a treatise by Augustine of Hippo, written about 417 CE to invoke imperial repression of his most intransigent enemies, the Donatists (Letter 185, *On the Correction of the Donatists*). The Donatists had taken shape as a faction in North African churches, long under persecution. Confronted with ultimate terrors, some Christians found it possible to save their lives by keeping the law while evading it, for example, by purchasing false certificates of sacrifice. Others considered any accommodation betrayal of the faith and demanded strict, uncompromised purity of life as a condition of Christian communion. Their rigorism spurred the Donatists into political insurgency. By their own atrocities, they often deliberately challenged Roman authorities to maintain public order by killing them. They embraced ecclesiastical schism, denouncing Christians outside their faction as false believers who had come to terms with the unbelieving world. After protracted controversy, marked by attempts on his life, Augustine called upon imperial officials to repress the Donatists by military coercion. He admonished the officials, by then Christian, to use force to snatch the Donatists' souls from hell.

The apostle Paul's axiom that the body be handed over to Satan for destruction so that the soul might be saved stood ready to Augustine's service, as did other choice witnesses from Scripture, including Jesus's parable of the king who sent out his servants to force guests to attend his wedding feast and God's own action in converting the apostle Paul by violence, striking him blind.<sup>59</sup> The Donatists were deluded by their own fictions, abandoning the authority of Scripture to follow all too human errors. By contrast, the Church was not fiction, but God's own institution. Its unity was the unity of Christ, and there was no salvation outside the Church, for the Spirit, which spread love in the hearts of the faithful, did not abide anywhere except in the body of Christ. There alone was the sacrament and the reality of the Body and Blood, which the unworthy consumed to their own condemnation.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*, ed. by Mutzenbecher, Letter 185, cc. 22–24 (pp. 20–23). On the atrocities of the Donatists, see cc. 15–18, 30 (pp. 14–17, 28).

<sup>60</sup> Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*, ed. by Mutzenbecher, Letter 185, cc. 2, 47–51 (pp. 2, 41–50).

Though he did not do so habitually, in this letter Augustine carefully distinguished between godly love (*caritas*) and brotherly affection (*dilectio*). One argument for reaching out in fellow feeling to the Donatists was that they were not responsible for their actions. They were impelled into their 'madness' because lying demons had intruded evil ideas into their minds.<sup>61</sup> In apostolic times, kings of the earth did not serve the Lord. They fought against Christ and did not fall under the rule of love. Now, the promises of Scripture had been fulfilled, and temporal rulers had a calling to defend the Church and Christian morals. Indeed, imperial laws served God's purposes, for he knew that the terror of the laws was needed as a powerful remedy against hardness of heart. It was the 'medicine of humility', one of many medicines invented to cure spiritual diseases. Great multitudes had been brought back to right belief by imperial laws, at first against their wills. In time, they became habituated to good rules and practices and came to thank God for their deliverance and, of their own accord, to amaze true believers with their fervent faith and love. They were now joined to true believers by brotherly affection in peace and love.<sup>62</sup>

The results, Augustine admitted, had been mixed. Some had left Donatism, enticed by worldly advantage and feigning conversion. Others stubbornly resisted, not having learned to understand the love and pastoral duty flowing to them from Augustine and those with whom he stood, and which he hoped would be enforced by imperial coercion. For the Church, coercion was a work of mercy (*opus misericordiae*), but in this regard too mercy caused pain. It had inflicted wounds on her motherly heart, first and foremost by the defection and enmity of her children, but not by that alone. For in seeking their return, she had suffered further injuries to her motherly heart by compromises she had made to recover those who could be regained and to allow communities devastated by controversy and warfare to be healed by wholehearted love.<sup>63</sup>

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We have now surveyed some aspects of the pairing of love and cruelty developed in the patristic conception of empathy. In the later Middle Ages, important new avenues opened in the realm of personal spirituality, avenues which gener-

<sup>61</sup> Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*, ed. by Mutzenbecher, Letter 185, c. 13 (p. 12).

<sup>62</sup> Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*, ed. by Mutzenbecher, Letter 185, cc. 13, 20, 35, 45 (pp. 12, 18, 31–32, 39–40).

<sup>63</sup> Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*, ed. by Mutzenbecher, Letter 185, cc. 32, 34, 43, 45, 47 (pp. 29–31, 39–41, 57–58).

ally diminished personal responsibility for nurturing empathy as fellow feeling and which had wide implications for personal morality not fully explored for many centuries. As the voices heard through religious literature multiplied after Anselm's day and later, and as previously unknown inspirations flowed in from Greek, Hebrew, and Islamic sources, great variations on the consciousness of personal guilt occurred. Yet consciousness of sin, and the experience of purgation by suffering, remained and with them the task of elucidating why in mercy, love, and justice God visited such pain of body and spirit on his chosen ones. In many venues, including letters and treatises, they continued to reflect on their sufferings in ways such as would engage the empathetic curiosity and imitative love of others. Yet some reflections were quite unlike those of Augustine, Anselm, and earlier writers, for they problematized empathy by depersonalizing it.

Thus far, we have identified several justifications for divine cruelty as an expression of love, and thus of human cruelty in imitation of the divine archetype. These theodiceal reasons hinged on the nature of divinity, including God's perfect goodness, beauty, and justice. Some sufferings beyond human explanation came about as unfathomable acts for the beauty and order of the created world. Others (including vengeance) were sent as punishment of wrong-doing or as lessons, not only for the guilty, but also for whole communities present and future, or as deterrents to keep human beings from being drawn by their inherent weaknesses into ways of life that would plunge them into yet more immense sufferings than any in this world — namely, the eternal torments of hell. Yet none of these explanations was explicitly Christian. The doctrine of God's incarnation did yield a justification, both for inflicting and for enduring cruelty. This doctrine, a moral valuation of suffering, crystallized in the image of Christ crucified.

By contrast with the other theodiceal reasons, this justification centred, not on the infinite perfections and powers of divinity, but on humanity, flesh and blood. In fact, it was a study in love originating in the 'shared blood' (*communio sanguinis*) of the human race shed by Christ in atoning sacrifice for original sin, the blood of Christ that regenerated souls in baptism and poured into sinful human hearts in the Eucharist. This doctrine of sanguinary redemption was written into the culture of penitence, institutionalized in monasticism. It justified radical conceptions of destruction and reconstruction, such as Augustine's image of the old sinful nature as a decayed bronze statue broken, melted down, and recast into a new and beautiful figure. Through eschatological doctrines of how the world would end and become a new heaven and a new earth, the same paradigm of destroying all things to make them new offered a way to think of world history moving towards its consummation. The theodiceal reasons derived from the perfections and powers of divinity had allowed a doctrine of God rul-

ing the course of events from above, as Providence. Through the conceptions of Christ as incarnate in his own person, incarnate too by indwelling in the hearts of generation after generation of those who loved him, incarnate finally in his body, the Church brought the valuation of redemptive human suffering down into processes of historical change. Augustine invited God to come into the little house of his soul and restore it, knowing that he already filled all things with the whole of himself.<sup>64</sup> As we saw, Gregory of Nyssa similarly detected God both in the soul and in creation bringing it to maturity and a universal return to him, in a process like the maturation of a foetus.

The conception of process continued in the West, as a subordinate theme in theology. It achieved two clear, striking, and distinctive expressions in the Carolingian revival, in the case of John Scottus Eriugena (c. 815–c. 877), strengthened if not inspired by direct contact with the thought of Gregory of Nyssa and the shadowy, powerful oriental mystical theologian known as Dionysius the Areopagite (fifth to sixth centuries).<sup>65</sup> By the thirteenth century, an image of Christ had been superimposed on that of the omnipresent God, one that brought forth a distinctive moral valuation of suffering. By imitating the Crucified, believers joined what they suffered for love of God and neighbour to Christ's redemptive sufferings of love, thereby manifesting Love as the substance of being, the energy shaping historical process from within. This conception depersonalized the Jahweh of the Old Testament into historical process. It also had a cost in human depersonalization: for it required believers to tear out root and branch every individual love and all self-concern and all loves except that of Christ, their souls' ardent lover and bridegroom, leaving to will and desire only unquestioning submission to whatever bliss or agony he bestowed.

The tendency to imagine God as person while also imagining him as process, and to deny one's own personality, subsuming it in the pure energy of divine love, while retaining one's individuality had many expressions. We shall examine some of them, which were particularly telling in the history of spirituality. For a concise epitome of the essentials in this chapter of the story of empathy, however, I first turn to Catherine of Siena's (1347–80) *Dialogues* (written 1377–78). Catherine was overwhelmed by the degradation which sin had visited upon humanity, 'the miserable cloud and dung heap of Adam'. As she looked around her, she saw the world perishing in its depraved self-love and pursuit of pleasure and the Church, God's vineyard, choked with thorns and weeds abused by those to whom it had

<sup>64</sup> Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. by Verheijen, I. 3. 3, I. 5. 6 (pp. 2, 3).

<sup>65</sup> See Morrison, "Christ in Us Moving toward the Father", and Morrison, 'Nudity Lost and Regained in Eriugena's History of the World'.

been entrusted. The wicked, she knew, would be thrown into the fire and burned forever. But God was drunk or insane with love for his creation. Having made humanity in his image, he took the only way possible to redeem it, or the part of it which could be redeemed, taking on humanity, flesh and blood though untainted by Adam's crime and curse. In Christ, he became 'our image'.

The key to redemption was the blood which Christ poured out in death for love of the redeemed. This blood passed to God's servants through the sacraments and carried into them a knife of love — love of God — and hatred of sin. Catherine also referred to this knife when she wrote how it was to be used as an instrument of self-knowledge. Self-knowing came when the soul looked into God's mirror and saw itself and its deformities. The knife of love and hatred of sin became the blade of discernment by which the soul mercilessly killed self-will and willingly accepted the hatred and contempt it deserved for sin and its concern for self. God revealed to her that those who reached the higher levels of perfect union with God were characterized not by suffering only, but by the desire for redemptive suffering, desire like the all-consuming love which had impelled Christ to desire and embrace suffering upon suffering. They were bound to imitate Christ in paying the debt of love for God and their neighbours. His followers fell in love with God's providence and will, not only enduring agonies of body and soul, but desiring more and more pain for the salvation of the wicked. Charity for one's neighbour was identical with pain endured for their sins.

Souls such as these [Catherine wrote] have let go of themselves, have stripped off their old nature, their selfish sensuality, and clothed themselves in a new nature, the gentle Christ Jesus, my Truth, and they follow him courageously. These are they who have sat down at the table of holy desire, and have set their minds more on slaying their selfish will than on mortifying and killing their bodies [...]. They trample underfoot all the persecutions the world and the devil can hound them with. They can stand in the water of great troubles and temptations, but it cannot hurt them because they are anchored to the vine of burning desire. They find joy in everything.

There could be no love for others, as individuals; love for others was subsumed in love for God. Intoxicated, or insane, with love, God poured sufferings upon his chosen ones and inflamed them with sorrow. Catherine exultantly wrote that, in her desire to suffer for the redemption of others, she became as one intoxicated, joyful and stricken with grief.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, trans. by Noffke, cc. 3–4, 11, 13, 23, 100–02, 143 (pp. 28–29, 43, 50, 60–61, 189–93, 298).

Let us now turn to wider applications of this distinctive moral valuation of suffering. In the extraordinary inward experiences of the Flemish beguine Hadewijch (fl. 1270), depersonalization took the form of complete self-abandonment to love.<sup>67</sup> Impelled by her own abiding love and desires, she reached out to others in charity. She suffered even for those who were estranged from God. If she could have done so, she would have loved them and even others whom God had abandoned in wrath. She would have wished God to reject her and embrace the reprobate instead.<sup>68</sup> She had yet to learn that, beautiful and deeply human as this expansive charity was, it clashed with God's own judgement. Her soul was cast into turmoil when, despite her overflowing charity for God and neighbour, she suffered intense physical suffering, rejection by others, disgrace, and eventually, expulsion by her own religious community. At some indeterminable stage in her troubles, she complained to Christ about her agonies.<sup>69</sup>

Reliving the experience, she recorded how she had told Christ of her sufferings and that she wanted him to give her relief. How did her pain square with her faithful work, abounding in charity for others, and the dedication with which she gave herself to him in love? Christ's response was tender but unifying. He reproached Hadewijch by holding up his own example of complete and tireless charity for everyone in the world, strangers as well as friends. In his own intense agonies, he never used the omnipotence, his by nature, or called upon the Father for relief or reward. Even worse, he admonished Hadewijch to prepare for every kind of affliction. Not only must she prepare, she must 'desire to be poor, miserable, and despised by all [...] with griefs beyond [the power of any] human nature to carry'. To live totally for Love, she had to be content to be forsaken by all and to live in that utter abandonment until her hour came. Christ told her that he would take pleasure in her forsaken condition. At moments when she was overwhelmed by afflictions too heavy to bear, she would feel herself encompassed by storms of love in union with Christ. She could not enter into full union with God's divinity until her soul was at peace, a state she could only achieve when she had abandoned the human charity that arose in her, with desires of her own, and hurled herself unreservedly into the abyss of divine Love, so entirely dominated by Love that '[she] could no longer think of saints, men here below, heaven or earth, angels, [herself], or God, but only of Love'.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> On Hadewijch, see the studies by Newman and McGinn in this volume.

<sup>68</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Vision 11. 156 (p. 292).

<sup>69</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Vision 1. 281, 288, 307, 325, 341, 383 (pp. 268–70).

<sup>70</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Letter 20. 113 (p. 92).

Abandoning herself and all concern for anything else, she would endure terrible wounds of Love, submit to Love's binding chain, cutting sword, and chastising rod. She would desire to be hated and shunned, following the example of Christ, who gave all that he was in obedience and humility to Love.<sup>71</sup> She was overwhelmed by fears of many and ill-matched kinds. She was fearful because she was unworthy of Love. She was fearful that she did not love enough to satisfy Love. She was fearful that she was not loved enough. She was fearful because she was never satisfied in love; the more she was loved the more she craved to be loved. Such was the violence of her love that she also feared falling into insanity, the result she dreaded might follow from abandoning herself unreservedly to Love.<sup>72</sup> She knew the amazing sweetness of moments when 'the loved one and the Beloved dwell in one another, and penetrate each other in such a way that neither of the two distinguishes himself from the other. But they abide in one another in fruition, mouth in mouth, heart in heart, body in body, and soul in soul, while one sweet 'divine Nature' flows through them both and they are both one thing through each other, but at the same time remain two different selves — yes, and remain so forever'.<sup>73</sup>

These events when Love was fulfilled came and went, and when they left, Hadewijch fell back with a 'sick and suffering heart', or 'a very depressed state of mind', stricken to find that her faithfulness was not enough, not yet boundless, even though she had, in a vision, drunk the chalice of Christ's blood — that is, all afflictions ever known or unknown, the chalice of patience.<sup>74</sup> Loving God did not always sweeten her suffering. In such a moment, she wrote that God had 'been more cruel to me than any devil ever was. For devils could not stop me from loving God, or anyone he charged me to help forward; but this he has snatched from me'. He had promised fruition of love and yet had withdrawn without keeping his promise. It was as though he had played a practical joke, offering her something and slapping her hand, with a curse, when she reached to take it.<sup>75</sup>

The conflicted landscape of empathy expressed in the self-revulsion of Augustine and Anselm survived in Hadewijch's perspective. However, it had

<sup>71</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Letter 2. 16 (p. 78).

<sup>72</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Letter 8. 1, 27, 47, 72; Vision 7. 41 (pp. 64–66, 280).

<sup>73</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Letter 19. 4 (p. 66). See also Vision 7. 94 (p. 281).

<sup>74</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Letter 8. 72; Vision 1. 177–81; 8. 127; 11. 1 (pp. 66, 266, 284, and 289).

<sup>75</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Letter 1. 56, 69 (p. 48).

developed into a mysticism tracing the soul's ascent by the mediation of Christ's two natures, from humanity into divinity. The theological proposition, stated in the age of the Church Fathers by Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 295–373), epitomized this transcendence: 'God became man so that men might become gods', divinized by connection with the Word by the flesh.<sup>76</sup> Turmoil, pain, and death, characteristics of the human condition, inhered in the *communio sanguinis* of the human race. The essential key to transcendence through commonality with Christ lay in peace of mind, a characteristic stamped into humanity by God with his image. Thus, in Hadewijch's scattered reflections, outlines of a general pattern can be seen. Peace of mind requires immunity to the changefulness and agony of this life, magnified for those dearest to God by imitation of Christ crucified. Even in the supreme torment of the Cross, Christ was able to maintain his divine imperturbability through the perfect love which he was as God. United by faith and sacraments with Christ, believers likewise moved into the life of God through divine love at the cost of abandoning themselves to that love. Abandoning themselves, they abandoned human feelings: that is, a feeling for humanity. Divine sweetness pervaded their whole being in ecstatic visitations, obliterating consciousness of everything except itself. When the moment passed, they lost intimacy with an incommunicable love beyond senses and mind, blinding to the understanding.

These basic outlines of empathetic cognition appear in reflections of other writers in the later Middle Ages, always with a sense that entering into the divine fulfilment for which humanity was created entailed transcending the physical senses and the emotions informed by them. As noted earlier, God had warned Moses that no man could see him and live (Exodus 33. 20). In a different way, death also came with Christian transcendence. Juliana of Mont-Cornillon (1193–1252), an Augustinian canoness in Liège, refused to ask Jesus to grant a spiritual friend the knowledge he had imparted to Juliana about the sacrament of his Body. Juliana refused, not in selfishness, but because her friend's humanity could not bear it. Divine visitations had sapped her own bodily powers, she said, and destroyed her humanity.<sup>77</sup> Juliana's biographer observed the remarkable tranquility, dignity, and devotion she maintained in detachment from the crushing sufferings and afflictions and calculated abuse she endured 'for the love of

<sup>76</sup> Athanasius of Alexandria, 'On the Incarnation of the Word of God', 54. 3 (p. 65).

<sup>77</sup> *Vita sanctae Julianae virginis*, II. 4. 20 (p. 340): 'Hoc enim vestra humanitas non posset ferre, quia potius deficere cogeretur; id namque est quod vires corporis mei penitus enervavit, humanitatemque meam destruxit.' See *The Life of Juliana of Mont-Cornillon*, trans. by Newman, p. 108.

God'; for those sufferings hounded her from her convent and from one refuge to another until her death.

Pain given by God (or Christ) in divine love subsumed human feelings, all of which, including empathy, were transcended by a life in which God was all in all. Julian of Norwich (1343–after 1413) developed these principles more fully than either Hadewijch or Juliana of Mont-Cornillon.<sup>78</sup> Like them, she realized that human beings needed to reckon with binocular vision: God's perspective, in which we do not fall from love, a perspective we can gain clearly only in heaven, and the human perspective, in which we cannot long remain in love.<sup>79</sup> At moments of spiritual exaltation, we catch a glimpse of the divine perspective in this life. 'We are enfolded in him, and he in us'; and we experience an unspeakable sweetness and self-forgetting. As did Hadewijch, Julian knew from experience how quickly such moments passed. We soon fall back into blindness, she wrote, beset by all sorts of distress and trouble. We fight against our pains and terrors and Satanic attacks, sustained through long wanderings in a spiritual desert by the memory of divine sweetness, savoured sometimes long before. In some passages, Julian appears to have stated a doctrine of universal salvation. 'Everything,' she wrote, 'is included in the [phrase] "mankind who are to be saved", everything, I say, that has been created, and the Maker of all as well. For God is in man, and God is in every thing.' But there were Jews, false Christians, and hypocrites, and Julian cherished a lively conception of hell and its everlasting fires awaiting them. In the end, the Lord would lead those who were to be saved into joy.<sup>80</sup> Here and now, life is penance, and the sharper one's compassionate love in suffering with Christ on the Cross, the greater the glory one would enjoy with Christ in his kingdom. Christ grieved that he could not suffer more for the redemption of the world. In compassionate love with Christ, the good suffered more than they did in their own deaths, and the sweeter their love, the more agonizing their pain.<sup>81</sup>

As to fellow feeling with other human beings, Julian's range was limited to Christians, excluding hypocrites, and indeed it was sharply depersonalized. For 'all the kind compassion and love people may have for their fellow Christians is due to the fact that Christ is in them.' Amidst this turbulent life, 'no soul can rest' until it is detached from all creation. When it is deliberately so detached for love

<sup>78</sup> On Julian of Norwich, see the study by Newman in this volume.

<sup>79</sup> Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. by Wolters, c. 82 (p. 208).

<sup>80</sup> Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. by Wolters, cc. 9, 52, 57, 77 (pp. 75, 152, 164, 200).

<sup>81</sup> Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. by Wolters, cc. 18, 21, 77 (pp. 91, 96, 200).

of him who is all, then only can it experience rest. Detachment from one's own struggles was imperative. Instead of being absorbed with our own pains and terrors, we should count them all as nothing. 'If God wills that we know him, we shall have great peace, rest and delight. We must be content with the Lord and what he sends us in his wisdom and tenderness. Well he asked the complaining: "Why should it grieve you to suffer a while, seeing this is my will and glory?"'<sup>82</sup>

In ways now beyond recovery, Meister Eckhart (1260–c. 1328) allowed himself to be instructed by forms of mysticism current in the Rhineland and the Low Countries, represented for us by Hadewijch, Juliana of Mont-Cornillon, and Julian of Norwich, near the coast across the English Channel from the Low Countries.<sup>83</sup> Hadewijch, Juliana, and Julian portrayed a running tension between human concerns and divine impassivity, and spiritual progress as a series of episodes of ecstatic union in which their human souls were interpenetrated with divine love, the life of God, alternating with stretches when they felt abandoned by God, bereft of his love, abandoned to afflictions, by God's will, with only their memories of divine bliss to sustain them. They prescribed affective detachment as a discipline to enable their souls to be immersed entirely in divine love and to defend themselves from drowning in their own miseries and desires during the long periods when they were not actually in ecstatic union with God.

Hadewijch had marvelled that, as a sign of his great love for her, God had given her a distinctive likeness to himself, enabling her to suffer as Christ had done. Thus, she could endure more pain than all human beings together had ever endured, so as to become perfect. In view of this exceptional divine love and privilege, Hadewijch was astonished that the great multitudes let her keep living and tolerated her without inventing new tortures to inflict upon her beyond the cruelties she already suffered in the self-alienating, isolating nobility of her love.<sup>84</sup> Eckhart too embraced suffering as a *genre* of love, but as a discipline for detachment, surrendering all that he was to divine engendering within him.

Eckhart collapsed temporal sequence into simultaneity. Tension between detachment and engagement became dynamism. Perfection of the soul came, not in an occasional visitation, but in 'a continuous union', the soul emptying itself and God pouring into the empty void. Like women mystics, Eckhart was able to imagine this 'continuous union', with the inpouring and indwelling of God into

<sup>82</sup> Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. by Wolters, cc. 5, 28, 77 (pp. 68, 105, 199–200).

<sup>83</sup> See McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart*, p. 139. On Meister Eckhart, see also the study by Newman in this volume.

<sup>84</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, Vision 14. 21, 43 (pp. 302–03).

the space vacated by the soul, as a constant nativity, the birthing of the Word, the only-begotten Son. In that dynamic event, there was neither Beloved nor Lover, but one active loving. 'Deconstructed into nothing', the soul was one roiling energy of love with God.<sup>85</sup>

This is how Eckhart or 'a follower more Eckhartian than Eckhart himself' interpreted the axiom 'God became man so that men could become God', attributing it to Augustine rather than to its actual author, Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>86</sup> To become the Son of God, to be 'born God himself', entailed complete abandonment of created being, concern with all existence, one's own and every other, the death of selves and identities, divine or human, and the cessation of activity, leaving pure nothingness. Paradoxically, it meant also that a person living in the non-dimension beyond what was called God and eternity, and beyond any possible mental constructs corresponding with those names, would perform works of love amid the turmoil and terrors of the world, untouched by them. Indeed, God himself acted in the world in that way, sustaining it by continually creating it, 'calling all things from himself and in himself'.<sup>87</sup> In this way, the birth of God in the soul required both a deliberate turning of the intellect towards God in external action as well as in thought and a complete forgetting of self, all creatures, and affective consciousness. We seem far from Aristotle's axiom, 'One is a friend to one's self most of all. Hence one should also love one's self most of all'.<sup>88</sup>

It is not possible to miss another change in Eckhart and some of his contemporaries from the scriptural origins of their thinking: a change from God as person to God as process, the quiet, uncircumscribed centre of that raging, infinitely protean, and unconquerable force, the life in all lives.

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We have now sketched a broad framework in which this volume's individual studies can be placed. Some results stand out clearly.

- (1) The fellow feeling now called 'empathy' was grounded in love, paradoxically qualified by antipathies.
- (2) A consciousness of that feeling did indeed exist well before the invention of the word in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century aesthetics. From classical Antiquity onwards, it belonged to an understanding of how the mental fac-

<sup>85</sup> McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart*, pp. 148–49, 155.

<sup>86</sup> McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart*, pp. 146–47, p. 258 n. 173.

<sup>87</sup> McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart*, pp. 117, 102–03, 133–39, 158–61.

<sup>88</sup> See note 14 above.

ulties worked together as a system of cognition characteristic of 'humanity' and therefore also of social bonding.

- (3) Ways of thinking about cognition, including empathy, followed paradigms of similitude given by three conflicting authorities — pagan philosophy, Scripture, and tradition. Worked together from these materials, humanity (and empathy) were categories of theology, branches of doctrines about love, which owed their claims to truth to the veracity with which they were believed to simulate things unseen. Infused by associations of passionate attraction and repulsion, empathy was not remotely like dispassionate virtues of philanthropy or altruism. It was also distinct from sympathy as the condescension of 'haves' for 'have-nots'.
- (4) There was no one-size-fits-all empathy. It is essential to observe from whom and to whom empathy flowed to gauge how a particular instance functioned in the graded hierarchy of friendship. In its Roman recastings, Aristotle's hierarchic diagram of secular friendships had a long life, but Christians expanded it in an unprecedented way by opening the dimension of friendship between God and human beings.
- (5) In the variegation of its authorities for simulation and the doctrines extracted from them, there were fundamental structural flaws which reached throughout the cognitive system undermining its stability.

Ironically, these flaws were invisible to patristic authorities and their medieval heirs and successors precisely because they consisted of major components of Christian doctrine. Two large categories consisted, first and foremost, of beliefs about God, derived from Greece and Rome, and, second, beliefs about the unitary and inerrant nature of Scripture which justified the use of figural methods supposedly to extract one divine truth from the variations, incompatibilities, and contradictions in the books of the Bible. Belief that God, absolute truth, was the author of all the canonical Scriptures required that such divergences, especially the most glaring, be harmonized as witnesses to divine truths deliberately hidden in the texts to arouse the ardour of the devout, and to hide sacred mysteries from the impious. A powerful repertory of techniques, including allegory, was developed to reveal the face of the divine Author between the lines of Scripture.

What I have called structural flaws were amply recognized by patristic and medieval writers, though their philosophical and theological preconceptions, which had the force of dogma, compelled them to consider problematic sections in Scriptures as God's own signs of hidden mysteries. The same traits were recognized as flaws with the dawn of historical criticism in the seventeenth and eight-

eenth centuries. Once the seven veils of metaphysical and dogmatic assumptions were dropped, the books of Scripture were detected, singly and as a canon, as historical artefacts. Their individual structures could be seen as products of unique historical circumstances and all the vagaries of oral and manuscript transmission including authorial ignorance and bias and scribal error.

As focused studies, the following essays illuminate key aspects of what we have been able to identify as empathy in the Middle Ages, beginning with the cornerstone of cognitive theories, empathy with one's self, the interactions of mind, body, and soul. Two studies dealing with sickness and restoration to health address those connections directly and in detail from different aspects (de Nie; Kessler). Independently analysing imaginative visualization, the authors reconstruct conceptions in widely separated cultures — Late Roman Gaul and Carolingian France — which posited definite anatomies of mental vision as ways to physical or spiritual healing. One of these studies (de Nie) goes further by indicating how it was thought that people who read accounts of miraculous healings could replicate them by recreating an original cure before their minds' eyes and vicariously participating in the healing. At a more exalted spiritual level, this is exactly analogous with the case reviewed by Kessler, portraying the ninth-century King Charles the Bald contemplating the Crucifixion as though he were physically present at Golgotha, and delivering the picture to viewers, including Charles himself, as a virtual reality for participation in the invisible actuality.

The second key subject, empathy in communion with others, pro-social feeling, is addressed in a number of essays including the two just mentioned. Like the essays concerned with mind-body-soul connections, those devoted to social bonding draw their materials from the arts and from various kinds of evidence and, with great advantage, recover techniques employed to arouse and direct feelings of commonality. The media discussed include saints' lives (de Nie; Bouchard), devotional pictures (Kessler), stylized rhythms of language (Allen), and prayer (Fulton Brown). Because they deploy media of communication, these essays also presuppose a *communio sanguinis*, a kindred, using the media in question as vernaculars. Findings about techniques of stimulation are particularly instructive because they provide extraordinary insights into the mental processes anticipated as audiences assimilated the contents represented by the works of art and allowed themselves to be drawn in as vicarious participants on the surface in the image represented and through it, as well, in the actual creative process unseen below the surface of the visible which produced the work of art.

Empathy with God, the third major subject, figures in essays dealing with arts of worship, and it is central to those concerning direct interfacing with God. Fear

of idolatry drove theological speculation to mistrust the tools of art, ideas, and every work of the human mind as simulation, potentially idolatrous, except as authenticated and mediated through the two natures of Christ, both God and man. Teachings of the gospel writers (especially in the gospel of John) and in letters of the apostle Paul located a point at which that mediation promised intimacy with God which both used humanity and transcended it. That point was Christ (or the Holy Spirit) dwelling in the human heart. The sacraments of baptism and Eucharist were thought to provide another means of transcendence; for through them, the 'types and shadows' of material simulations were miraculously informed by the substance of the actual blood and flesh of Christ; and these were considered to be digested and assimilated into the body and soul of communicants, a spiritual *communio sanguinis*.

One essay (Newman) explores implications of these doctrines of 'co-inherence' or indwelling, powerfully reinforced by the biological analogy of pregnancy, and, with another (McGinn), witnesses to the apotheosis of gender norms in the spirituality of women *devôts*. These two analyses cogently reinforce one another. The extraordinary and pervasive flowering of women's spirituality mainly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries introduced into discourse new extremes in the flight from anthropology into theology, a flight which pressed to the full appeared to dispense with all visible mediators between God and human beings, even with Church and Sacraments, and in mystical union, to annihilate the humanity of worshipers as they entered into and became God (Newman, McGinn). Together, the essays by McGinn and Newman provide an important contrast between these speculations and the earlier, passionate experiments (recounted in Fulton Brown's essay) by Anselm of Canterbury with prayer, relying on the mediation not only of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, but also of the saints. With Fulton Brown's analysis, they mark two great transitions in how 'a feeling for humanity' was imagined.

From the beginning of Christian theology, long before Anselm, empathy with God had been overshadowed by the paradox of God's love exercised through acts of cruel vengeance, sometimes devastating, against his own people. As we have seen in this introduction, the paradigms of simulation and replication enshrined the concept of pious love expressed through punishing cruelty as one point at which, without suspecting idolatry, believers considered themselves imitators of God. One essay (MacCormack) considers a segment in the long life of this idea from its classic sanction through the doctrine of hell in Augustine of Hippo's theology, its ramifications in Late Roman law, and its revision by the sixteenth-century humanist Juan Luis Vives, a dramatic moment at which tradition (in Vives's hands) disguised fundamental change as continuity.

In their different ways, these essays touch upon inconsistencies and contradictions in theories about empathy, structural flaws which failing gradually and in a different epoch gave way to other conceptions of human nature with other simulations, or paradigms, embraced as truth.<sup>89</sup> We have spoken particularly of one such cognitive dissonance, classical humanism synthesized with Christian doctrines of humanity in the amalgam of theology.

The last section turns to the limits of empathy, including the internal limits brought about by this blending of incompatibles as though they were witnesses to one and the same truth. An earlier essay (Colish) anticipated the disintegrations studied in Part IV. There, the subject was a remarkable treatise in which the Spanish theologian Ramon Lull (d. 1316) weighed the conflicting claims of the three Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) to superior truth against one another. While casting his argument in the form of a debate, Lull appeared to give the palm to Christianity, but much in his 'dialogue' pointed to the equivalence expressed by Boccaccio (1313–75) in his story of *The Three Rings* (*Decameron*, Day 1; novel 3).

As our fleeting reference to Xenophanes of Colophon<sup>90</sup> reminds us, artists and philosophers as far back as history reaches were perfectly aware of discrepancies between the material world delivered by nature and the artificial world which human beings created within it — a 'second nature'. It was no secret either that, beneath the surface of visible realities in nature there were, or might be, its origins in a subsurface of invisible powers, relationships, and dynamics, much as ideas and movements hidden in the secret recesses of an artist's mind underpin words and deeds. Historical reflection early introduced another familiar distinction. For, as distance in time made artefacts and practices increasingly old-fashioned and alien, even in one's own tradition, writers found themselves contemplating neither the real world of nature nor the virtual world in which they themselves lived intellectually. They found that they were attempting to decipher and reconstruct the virtual simulations of lost epochs, veils to pass through. Sometimes like priests of cults in the Roman Republic, they found themselves repeating archaic religious *formulae* that living people could no longer understand.

The three essays in Part IV ramify the problem of cognitive dissonance in and between spheres of simulation into four dimensions, rather more than other studies in this volume; for they take stock of the tension between humanism and Christian humanity at several junctures. The first dimension is the medieval

<sup>89</sup> Apart from theodiceal problems, see, for example, Kessler's enlightening comments on iconographic double entendres: Kessler, *Neither God nor Man*, esp. pp. 9–11, 105–15, 137–43.

<sup>90</sup> Above, at note 36.

expression. The second is a revision of that medieval perspective in the early modern or modern period (sixteenth to twentieth centuries). The third dimension is that of the author of the study regarding the earlier two. The fourth, roughly anticipated, is that of the readers of this volume.

Because this examination is both critical and self-critical, it puts to the test, more obviously in this section than in others, the possibility of entering into empathy with denizens of alien cultures. In other words, it points to the test of one of the first propositions of empathy: that, through fellow feeling, 'a feeling for humanity,' one person can enter into the feelings of another. This critical stance also differs from methods applied in the three earlier sections, since the connectedness under review runs between the living, or the biologically living, and those who, though physically dead, are regarded and addressed and inwardly embraced as spiritually alive, such as the saints.

In distinguishing the four dimensions through which the three essays (MacCormack, Noble, Kieckhefer) in Part IV move, one senses how difficult the terms of engagement make this exercise of empathy with the dead, which is also to say, with the spirit of the dead in their works, through aesthetics. In these studies, more sharply than in others, we know who controls the narrative; and we feel, in the wide generosity expressed in all of them, an invitation to think more widely and widen the conversation another day. Here, Vives's reverential, silent, and firm mitigation of Augustine's severe doctrines of hell has the last word (MacCormack), but we know that at some celestial roundtable other parties to the discourse will have their say — Fra Bernardino da Sahagun (1490–1599), the Franciscan who, in his sympathy for the Aztecs and Mayans and admiration for their civilizations, inadvertently laid the foundations of Mesoamerican anthropology, and the provincial of his order who attempted to suppress his writings. I would also like to think that Atahualpa has something to add. Threatened with burning and a quick trip to hell before his baptism, he then was strangled and presumably sent straight to heaven after he accepted the sacrament. One would like to hear these souls exchange their ideas about empathy, and why not Torquemada and Bartolomé de las Casas too?

We also enter an age of religious pluralism in which secularism qualifies as a religion without the name, and toleration did not come easily. Vives himself has something to add to the pluralistic roundtable. The Inquisition exercised a special pastoral vigilance towards Jewish converts, their families and descendants. Europe and the New World exhibited a glowing tracery of its interrogations and pyres. Member of Vives's immediate family had been investigated by the Holy Office, and this may have entered into his cautious revision of Augustine's iron severity.

In another essay (Noble), the conflict between empire and papacy, a great leit-motif of European history between the fall of Rome (410) and the sack of Rome by Charles V (1527), or as here the Avignonese Papacy, fades behind the aesthetic nostalgia for the glories of pagan Rome still to be seen in ancient ruins, and of early Christian Rome enshrined in churches and tombs of countless saints. These glories of the dead are betrayed and tarnished by the ineptitudes, perfidy, and godlessness of contemporary Romans. Humanist nostalgia for the irrevocable past reaches its literary apogee in Gibbon, lapsed Anglican and lapsed Catholic, and Gregorovius, whose *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, despite many honours, was put on the *Index of Forbidden Books*, making Gregorovius *persona ingratisissima* in the Vatican and causing his permanent departure from Rome to Munich. Here, we are conscious that other factors have edged religion out of the discourse about empathy. If religion were included as a source of fellow feeling, as it was for the original players in the drama, a great intramural chorus would rise up singing the Roman sagas of pope against pope, popes against Romans, factions of the Roman nobility against other factions. The Roman Ghetto, so silent in Gregorovius's volumes and accounts of classical humanism, would have its voice.<sup>91</sup> There would be no end of it. The myth of classical aestheticism trumps all other players, as it did for Gibbon and Gregorovius, backward-looking, not looking forward towards a consummation of a completely new order yet to come.

In the closing essay (Kieckhefer), the story of modern historians regarding medieval inquisitors portrays the gentle, knowing hand of humanism pulling the strings of narrative about empathy and leaving religion as an exquisite little cameo part. We have seen one possible sixteenth-century contribution by the Inquisition to the history of empathy in Vives. Given the flowering of ethical pluralism after the sixteenth century, it is no surprise to find that, as in Vives, the virtues modern scholars found to praise in medieval inquisitors were not those closest to the hearts of the inquisitors, including religious virtues, but those cherished by Cicero and the modern scholars: virtue, erudition, urbanity, and benevolence.

<sup>91</sup> Here, I refer specifically to Gregorovius's rare and incidental references to Rome's Jewish community in Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, trans. by Hamilton. Very early (1853) in his long residence in Rome (1851–74), when he conceived and executed his monumental *History*, he wrote a short treatment of the Jewish Ghetto. Gregorovius himself put this little work in a different category, and it was only the political circumstances of the 1930s that brought it to public notice in Berlin, and subsequently to an Anglophone audience in translation, under the title *The Ghetto and the Jews of Rome*. In walking through the decaying and impoverished streets of the old Ghetto, Gregorovius was struck by the fact that the Jews, despite all the privations visited upon them, had survived in Rome long after the Roman Empire itself had faltered and withered away. His short treatise is a meditation on that paradox. See Gregorovius, *Der Ghetto und die Juden in Rom*. The use of the word 'in', rather than 'of', is telling.

Where in modern pluralism was religion, and, to be sure, where in modern scholars are the religious affects for which the medieval inquisitors gave and demanded much? We know to be alert for unacknowledged empathetic presences and invisible barriers. At least, as far as the historians in question are concerned, many North American institutions of education were not so pluralistic as to discard barriers against admitting Jews as students or members of faculties until after World War II. Come to think of it, since the inquisitors' home institutions have not died out, where, in a pluralistic world, were the institutional legatees of the inquisitors' faith? What a different celestial roundtable we see prepared and fully occupied beside the one of secular, or secularized, humanism, waiting for us to visit! Theology at the ready, Christian humanists are there, not North American, but German. Let us see — there is the great Protestant trinity (Barth, Bultmann, and Tillich), why not add Gerhard Kittel for a little tabasco? And Bishops Rarkowski and von Galen, with a few contemporary Dominicans, spiritual brethren of the inquisitors? In a way of speaking, my part in the conversations continued in this book goes back to Tillich. For, as an impressionable beginning graduate student, I first heard the word 'empathy' and was initiated into the concept of 'empathetic participation' by him in lectures he gave long ago at Cornell University.

I know, or used to know, some humanists from Central Europe who with great clarity understood, and practiced, religious empathies from outside Christian theology. They would have much of value to say about the vagaries of Christian humanism in its confusion of sympathy with empathy, and about absolving the inquisitors of cruelties because of their Ciceronian virtues. So let us sometime make them welcome to exchanges about feelings for humanity, as I think may be the intent of all contributors to Part IV on the limits of empathy, who are opening up for us moments when new vistas of compassion, religious and secular, were discovered.

In encountering the possibility of empathy between inquisitors and their distant and alien judges, we perceive something that we have not anticipated, though it is entirely present around us: the pathos of the 'Stockholm Syndrome'. Could there have been an affective bonding between inquisitors and their suspects/victims such as is often experienced between abusers and abused? How, after all, did Christians live in obedience to the command 'Love your enemies' (Matthew 5. 44)? Was this commandment one reason for a co-dependence, empathy exerting its pro-social effects in lethal circumstances, at work from the beginning in interchanges between persecutors and victims that we sometimes find in acts of martyrs, and even in the assimilation of Ciceronian humanism to ideals of human redemption? Was the wide feeling for humanity, even in enemies, interpolated into the gospel as a silent contribution to the evolution of God, a contribution

anticipated in ideas of Gregory of Nyssa and mystics in the later Middle Ages as they reached beyond constructs of doctrine and simulations of empathy to apprehend God in process as love's pure energy?<sup>92</sup> There was something close to conversion, the turning away from one devotion and towards another, in the fervid honing of the knife of love with hatred.

*Karl F. Morrison*

Lessing Professor of History and Poetics  
Department of History, Rutgers University

<sup>92</sup> For the suggestion that Matthew 5. 44 is a late interpolation, with the further suggestion that the apostle Paul was the interpolator, see Wright, *The Evolution of God*, pp. 259–60, 283–85, and 390–91.

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## Part I

### Empathy before the Word?



## MUTATIO SENSUS: POETICS OF HOLINESS AND HEALING IN PAULINUS OF PÉRIGUEUX'S *LIFE OF SAINT MARTIN*

Giselle de Nie\*

In the late 450s and early 460s, the city of Tours — on the south shore of the river Loire — found itself situated perilously in a frontier zone: that between still officially imperial Gaul to the north and the south-western territory since 418 ceded to so-called Roman federates, in fact independent Visigoths.<sup>1</sup> In the increasing general insecurity due not only to the latter's expansionist tendencies but also to constantly shifting alliances, periodic uprisings, and threats of attack from without, Bishop Perpetuus of Tours (458/59–488/89) set about to ensure the welfare of his church and his city by making St Martin's tomb a regional centre of pilgrimage, and thus of spiritual power that would inspire confidence in its supporters and fear in its enemies.<sup>2</sup> In the splendid large church which Perpetuus built for the saint, the following declaration was inscribed near his tomb: 'Here lies buried Bishop Martin of sacred memory, whose soul is in the hand of God. But he is wholly present here, as is made manifest to all by the grace of his deeds of power.'<sup>3</sup> The tomb, then, is a power centre, inhabited by

\* A fuller discussion of the subject of this essay may be found in de Nie, *Poetics of Wonder*.

<sup>1</sup> On the city in the immediately preceding period, see Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 119–40.

<sup>2</sup> On the development of St Martin's cult in this period, see Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 140–57, and Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, pp. 13–21.

<sup>3</sup> Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, no. 13, p. 809: 'Hic conditus est sanctae memoriae Martinus episcopus cuius anima in manu Dei est; sed hic totus est praesens, manifestus omni gratia virtutum.' On the church, pp. 372–405.

the invisible saint reaching down from heaven in visible acts. It must have been in this context that, between 460 and 470,<sup>4</sup> Perpetuus commissioned a certain Paulinus — perhaps a former rhetor who had become Bishop of Périgueux — not only to write a verse inscription for the new church but also to make a poetic version of at least part of Sulpicius Severus's then sixty-year-old stories about the life and deeds of St Martin, as well as about a number of more recent miracles of the dead saint which the Bishop himself had written up, so that they might be read to the community and its visitors.<sup>5</sup> Paulinus's poem, 3622 hexameters long, was the first hagiographical epic, almost certainly following the example of the biblical epics of the fourth-century Juvenius and early fifth-century Sedulius, of which reminiscences appear in the text.<sup>6</sup> Their intention, too, had been to capture their readers' hearts by presenting their material in a manner that would charm as well as edify.<sup>7</sup>

Whether Paulinus began the new version on his own or Perpetuus commissioned all of it,<sup>8</sup> the poet must have been acquainted with the exigencies of the new situation, for instead of Sulpicius's portrait of Martin as an eccentric outsider in the Gallo-Roman Church, he presents an image of the Saint as the actively concerned Bishop and, later, heavenly patron of the city.<sup>9</sup> A recent study of Paulinus's poem by Sylvie Labarre is one of the first to give serious attention to the content of this work, one which philologists previously had treated only as very second-rate poetry and tiresome reading.<sup>10</sup> She points to its distinguishing characteristics in comparison with Sulpicius's original as the amplification of its material, the universalizing of its historical context, and its intention to give moral and spiritual instruction.<sup>11</sup> Thus, what she designates as Paulinus's 'actual-

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 156–57: 470, with Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, p. 20: 460–70. First facts there about Paulinus, pp. 14–28.

<sup>5</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig. Inscription: p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube*, p. 35; Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, pp. 71–110.

<sup>7</sup> As in Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, III. 6–8; on Juvenius and Sedulius, compare Kartschoke, *Biebildichtung*, pp. 32–34 and 85–87, 41–45 and 67, respectively.

<sup>8</sup> There is scholarly discussion on which parts of the poem were commissioned by Perpetuus and on who is responsible for the differences with Sulpicius's original; see Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, pp. 19–28.

<sup>9</sup> On this, see Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 732–44.

<sup>10</sup> Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>11</sup> Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, pp. 123–38.

ization' and 'humanization' of his subject matter make the Saint's holy life recognizable as a spiritual model for the contemporary reader or listener.<sup>12</sup>

Taking this a bit further, I would add that whereas Sulpicius's original had emphasized the saint's presence in the world above all as a man of holy power to be revered and prayed to,<sup>13</sup> Paulinus — although certainly not neglecting that — consistently foregrounds another quality: his compassion as a spiritual model for all to imitate. Paulinus attempts to induce a similar compassion in his readers and listeners by adding details of the afflicted persons who were healed by the saint, with whom they could identify and empathize. As far as I can see, his recurrent emphasis upon compassion as the saint's dominant quality is an original contribution, and unique in the then-developing hagiographical genre. In the late sixth century, a new poetic retelling of the Martin stories by Venantius Fortunatus is completely different in tone, imagining the saint as above all a splendidly attired heavenly potentate to be admired and prayed to for protection.<sup>14</sup> Although from around 1050, some began to practice affective meditation on Christ's Passion, and around 1200 compassion became a central theme in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, the story of Martin's life in the best-known medieval collection of saints' lives — that of the Italian Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1228–98) — does not especially highlight it, mentioning it only in a list along with other spiritual qualities.<sup>15</sup>

Those reading or listening to Paulinus's imaged descriptions of Martin's compassionate miracles and their needy recipients, however, are also likely to have imaginatively internalized and thus spiritually experienced the transformational patterns made visible in these miracles. For in an appended verse letter about the cure of his grandson from a life-threatening illness, Paulinus himself describes how the imaginative re-enactment of a description of such a process could precipitate an actual physical cure.<sup>16</sup> Pictures (unfortunately no longer extant) in Martin's

<sup>12</sup> Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, pp. 228–32.

<sup>13</sup> As in Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, VII. 7 (I, 268): 'ut qui sanctus iam ab omnibus habebatur, potens etiam et vere apostolicus haberetur'.

<sup>14</sup> See de Nie, 'The Poet as Visionary'.

<sup>15</sup> See McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*; Mertens Fleury, *Leiden lesen*; and Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. by Maggioni, II, 1133–53.

<sup>16</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 21 (pp. 160–64). It is one of the only two extensive eyewitness reports of a cure in the Late Antique period which I know about, the other being Augustine's description of the cure of his friend Innocentius: Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, XXII. 8. 45–135 (II, 816–18). Both cures will be compared with others in this period in de Nie, 'Patterns of Miracle'.

church could reinforce this imaginative experience. As will be seen, Paulinus's inscription there — which does survive — adduces these visual representations as proofs of the saint's compassion and effective power, but also as model experiences to be re-enacted by the beholder. Inspired by Karl Morrison's magisterial studies,<sup>17</sup> I shall look at how the poet's images attempt throughout to engage his readers and listeners in an imaginative, affective mimesis that not only leads to an empathetic participation in the invisible spiritual realities of the saint's holy compassion and of the suffering of the persons he cured, but at the same time induces a spiritual re-enactment of the transformations he helped to bring about that could trigger their own personal healing.

### *'A Change of Awareness'*

In several passages scattered throughout the poem Paulinus presents his undertaking to write in praise of the saint as having been the effect of what appears to be a personal conversion. Like his predecessor and namesake Paulinus of Nola,<sup>18</sup> he tells his readers that he has come to reject the fiction of the pagan muses and now finds his inspiration in Christ and his patron saint.<sup>19</sup> Thus he says, in a prayer that introduces Martin's resuscitation of a dead infant, who then embraces the saint rather than his mother,

Go ahead now, continue, with your noble course of virtuous deeds; re-present [these to me] by composing your history, O my Muse, bishop, and my spirit! Let your help touch the lyre of my heart and of my mouth! Those who speak madly press the senseless Muses to their frenzied hearts, [but it is] Martin [who] moves us: such a change of awareness delights me; my inner parts thirst for such a wellspring.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Especially Morrison, *'I Am You'*, and Morrison, *History as a Visual Art*.

<sup>18</sup> Included in Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen*, ed. by Hartel, 10. 19–42 (pp. 25–26). On Paulinus, see Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*. On his rejection of the pagan muses and his view of Christian inspiration, see Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube*, pp. 26–31.

<sup>19</sup> Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube*, pp. 35–39.

<sup>20</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, iv. 245–51 (p. 91): 'Perge age continuo virtutum stemmata tractu | historiam pangendo refer, mea Musa, sacerdos, | ingeniumque meum; tu cordis plectra vel oris | auxilio continge tuo. vesana loquentes | dementes rapiant furiosa ad pectora Musas: | nos Martinus agat. talis mutatio sensus | grata mihi est, talem sitiunt mea viscera fontem.' An alternate reading of 'mea Musa' is 'via versa' (ibid., iv. 246); this, too, points to a conversion.

The phrasing reminds us, of course, of the apostle Paul's identification with Christ: 'Not I live but Christ in me',<sup>21</sup> and the wellspring — a Christian counterpart of the pagan poets' traditional notion of the Castalian spring — of Christ's words to the Samaritan woman: 'the water which I shall give him will become in him a spring of water welling up into eternal life'.<sup>22</sup>

As for the phrase 'a change of awareness' (*mutatio sensus*), as applicable to a person, the word *sensus* can mean perception, awareness, consciousness, sensibility, feeling, sentiment, and a manner of thinking.<sup>23</sup> The first time Paulinus mentions a change of awareness in connection with himself is in his remarks introducing Martin's first miracle, the resuscitation of a dead catechumen, when he presents it as a figure of the revival of his own heart and mind — their apparent equivalence shows that the clear-cut distinction between them, which we now assume, was not perceived in this period. Addressing the saint, he says:

We who seek our meaning and words from Christ, inspire us a little, we pray, O Martin, worshipper of Christ! You who were able to restore life to the dead, with the aid of the Lord, save [my soul]. I shall be the first to have been given the miracle of a life given back, the first to break through the enclosure of a decaying tomb. Let my patron [hear] my just [prayer]: that, [once] dead in my whole heart, my living mind may [now] pronounce the glory of so great praise.<sup>24</sup>

Apparently only half-conscious of the fact, he has enacted the miracle's spiritual equivalent in himself by empathizing with and thereby imaginatively re-enacting its pattern of transformation in the subject. Elsewhere, he seeks this process more consciously, writing:

Let us be filled with another [...] spirit, may it give words and joy to our heart! So that I might seek to sing of truth, let my Muse, my patron, cherish and favour my awareness with his grace [...] so that I may sing of high and heavenly things with an enlightened perception.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Galatians 2. 20.

<sup>22</sup> John 4. 13–14: 'aqua quam dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam'.

<sup>23</sup> Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, p. 752.

<sup>24</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 305–12 (p. 31): 'Nos, quibus a Christo sensus vel verba petuntur, | christicola inspires paulum Martine, precamur. | tu, qui defunctis potuistis reddere vitam | auxilio domini fultus, mihi redde salutem: | primus ego indultae faciam miracula vitae, | primus faetentis disrumpam claustra sepulchri. | iusta precor toto defunctus corde patronum, | ut tantae laudis titulos mens viva loquatur.'

<sup>25</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, VI. 341–44, 347 (p. 152): 'Nos alter repleat [...] spiritus et nostro det verba et gaudia cordi. | ut verum cantare

His changed awareness, then, produces an enlightened perception (*perspicuus sensus*) — did the poet intend this to point to a kind of clairvoyance? It is especially his heart — the engine of the imagination — which is involved in the poetic process; for addressing himself as a poet, he says:

commit your extinguished flame to the Lord, so that the stiff coldness of your mind may warm up by Christ's breath, and Martin's prayer may melt the ice of your heart, and make your brute voice burst forth as it once did through the miracle of a similar deed.<sup>26</sup>

Again: the imaginative re-enactment of a miracle as the model of an interior, spiritual process. Here, although the Holy Spirit is said to be the inspiring agent, it is — significantly — Martin's personal prayer that is thought to bring about the activation of the poet's heart or imagination. The saint is asked to take over, to merge with, the poet's inmost feelings, if not his identity. Together they would bring forth the poetic process as an interior miracle in the heart whose pattern resembles that of the visible cure of a mute girl; its description follows. Gerhard Strunk adjudges this and similar passages in Paulinus to be not only a formal Christian *contrafactum* against the ancient pagan tradition of the Muses but, more essentially, the presentation of a new awareness of having been raised from spiritual death through baptism and thereafter transformed through inhabitation by Christ<sup>27</sup> — in Paulinus's case, I suggest, through the inspirational example of a compassionate saint with whom the poet could attempt to identify. The poet's purpose, Strunk writes, is not to write a history of the saint's life but to describe the miracle of God's revelation in and through a human being.<sup>28</sup>

Martin, then, has become the poet's new 'spirit' and dictates the poem's content. Paulinus reveals how his poetic process takes place when he writes: 'I pray to him [Martin] that he will want to be always manifestly present in the miserable

quaeam, mea Musa patronus | me foveat vegetetque meum sua gratia sensum [...] perspicuoque canam celsa et coelestia sensu.'

<sup>26</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 13–17 (pp. 107–08): 'Age et extinctam domino committe favillam, | ut rigor ingenii Christo adspirante tepescat, | et glaciem cordis Martini oratio solvat | ac faciat brutam quamprimum erumpere vocem, | ut quondam similis meruit miracula facti.'

<sup>27</sup> Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube*, pp. 36–39. On inhabitation in the Bible and in the later Middle Ages, see Barbara Newman's 'Indwelling: A Meditation on Empathy, Pregnancy, and the Virgin Mary', in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube*, p. 39. Paulinus's purpose thus resembles that of Anselm in his prayers as described by Rachel Fulton Brown in 'Anselm and Praying with the Saints', in this volume.

heart of the poet, so that when my meditation shall have turned into poetry, the written prayer will contain his praise'.<sup>29</sup> I have not found anything quite like it in other hagiographical writings of this period. In 398, the poet Paulinus of Nola had called upon Christ as his Muse for inspiring his song about St Felix,<sup>30</sup> and in the late sixth century, Venantius Fortunatus would go no further than asking St Martin to procure words for him from Christ.<sup>31</sup>

### *'Abounding Compassion'*

We turn now to Paulinus's highlighting of Martin's compassion. A comparison of Sulpicius's original story of Martin's best-known act, his sharing his cloak with a naked beggar, with Paulinus's rendering of it shows how the poet amplifies his material to appeal more strongly to the reader's compassion. Sulpicius's original story, beautifully but relatively briefly told, recounts that during an unusually severe winter in which not a few people froze to death, Martin encountered a naked beggar at the gate of Amiens:

Although he beseeched passers-by to have pity upon him, everyone walked straight past the wretched man. Since others did not show him pity, the man filled with God understood that the man was reserved for him. What was he to do, however? He had only the soldier's mantle which he was wearing; his other clothes had been given away earlier. Seizing the sword which he was wearing, therefore, he cut his mantle in two pieces and gave one half to the poor man and wrapped the rest around himself. Upon this, some of the bystanders began to laugh at the sight of his truncated clothing. Many who were healthier in mind, however, began to sigh deeply, regretting that that they had not done this since, having more than Martin, they could have clothed the poor man without reducing themselves to nakedness.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 871–73 (p. 138): 'Quam precor ut miseri manifeste in corde poetae | semper adesse velis, ut, cum meditatio carmen | finierit, teneat transcripta oratio laudem.'

<sup>30</sup> Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen*, ed. by Hartel, 15. 26–49 (pp. 52–53).

<sup>31</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. by Quesnel, 'Prologus', 31–42 (IV, 5).

<sup>32</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, III. 1–2 (I, 256–58): 'Qui cum praetereuntes ut sui misererentur oraret omnesque miserum praeterirent, intellexit vir Deo plenus sibi illum, aliis misericordiam non praestantibus, reservari. Quid tamen ageret? Nihil praeter chlamydem, qua indutus erat, habebat: iam enim reliqua in opus simile consumperat. Arrepto itaque ferro quo accinctus erat, mediam dividit partemque eius pauperi tribuit, reliqua rursus induitur. Interea de circumstantibus ridere nonnulli, quia deformis esse truncatus habitu videretur; multi tamen, quibus erat mens sanior, altius gemere, quod nihil simile fecissent, cum utique plus habentes vestire pauperem sine sua nuditate potuissent.'

The following night, in a dream to the young soldier, Christ showed himself wearing the half which had been given away and honoured the giver by saying to the angels standing around that, although still a catechumen, Martin had covered him with the severed piece. The reader is then reminded that Christ here is repeating his saying that everything done for the poor is done for him.<sup>33</sup> This vision did not make the Saint proud, Sulpicius concludes, but — recognizing God's goodness in his deed — he sought baptism.

Paulinus's version is a poetic meditation on this story. At the same time, it is something like a sermon. He amplifies — here and there perhaps a bit too much, it might be said — adding details that appeal to emotion and making the story twice as long. I shall give only a few samples. The naked beggar is said to have been 'hardly able to murmur a few disconnected words';<sup>34</sup> we hear this as we visualize and thereby affectively experience his half-frozen condition and violent shivering. The rich who bypassed him, 'looked down upon his disdained complaint with an insane laugh';<sup>35</sup> again a picture with sound. Martin's hesitation thereupon takes much longer than in Sulpicius's original — the listener is implicitly invited to share it. Paulinus then explains what Sulpicius had perhaps assumed as common knowledge at his time, namely that his mantle, folded double, protected him against cold, wind, and rain. Realizing that this was the solution, Martin took his sword and

in *abounding compassion* cut [the mantle] in two parts, as I believe, himself keeping the lesser one and covering the shivering body [of the beggar] with the other. [...] O blessed man, *surpassing all miracles with your virtue*, and going beyond the precepts and commands of our Lord! For he ordered us to be content with little and not to keep two sets of clothes. You, however, had only one and divided it into two. Everyone witnessed this; some laughed at the mutilated mantle, not perceiving the greater truth: *the true beauty of his heart*. But others felt contrite in their hearts upon seeing the justice of a poor man giving to the beggar what their larger means, despite its great resources, had denied him.<sup>36</sup> (*italics added*)

<sup>33</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, III. 3–4 (I, 258).

<sup>34</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 64–65 (p. 21): 'Vix verba frementi | dimidiatis prae fracta sono'.

<sup>35</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 67–68 (p. 21): 'fastiditamque querellam | despexit misero [...] insania risu'.

<sup>36</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 87–89, 91–99 (p. 22): 'Mediam resecat miseratio prodiga partem, | peiorem sibi credo legens. tum membra trementis | obtegit [...] o felix, virtute tua miracula vincens | omnia et excedens domini praecepta iubentis. | ille etenim modico contentos nos iubet esse | nec servare duas vestes : tu dividis

Three key phrases — none of which appear in Sulpicius's original — point to Paulinus's message here and in his whole poem: the Saint's 'abounding compassion' ('miseratio prodiga') and the 'true beauty of his heart' ('veru[s] in corde decor') 'surpass all miracles' ('miracula vincens omnia'). Not Martin's deed or his holy power, then, but his tenderhearted active compassion itself is the real miracle. It may be that Paulinus's sensitivity to suffering and compassion was connected with the misfortunes which he and those around him suffered during the Visigothic takeover of south-western Gaul, where he lived, and with what he appears to have experienced as succours by the saint.<sup>37</sup> In the late sixth century, Gregory the Great's prose stories about contemporary Italian saints — many of whom lived in monastic environments — would also emphasize their spiritual rather than visible prowess, but not focus specifically upon compassion.<sup>38</sup> The Pope's contemporary, Gregory of Tours, however, would also occasionally mention this quality of the heavenly Martin's miracles.<sup>39</sup>

Paulinus's rendering of Martin's dream that night of Christ wearing the halved mantle confronts the reader/listener with an inversion that invites the abandonment of common-sense reality and the entering of a supra-rational kind of consciousness that includes a higher — perhaps somewhat clairvoyant — kind of perception. For he speaks of the now ragged cloth as a 'truly precious mantle' ('vere pretiosa clamis'),<sup>40</sup> and adds that such an honour has never been given, even to garments of purple silk embroidered with images by gold threads (a current ideal of costume beauty).<sup>41</sup> This image contaminates that of the probably soiled soldier's cloak and, as it were, hovers over it with a glowing sheen, intensified by the association with the no doubt shining heavenly Christ. It becomes the spiritual image of an earthly object, glorified through a heavenly compassion. With this and — as will be seen — other inversions, in addition to what may be designated as double-exposure images, I suggest, Paulinus wants to prod the reader into a change of awareness: a leaving behind of common-sense per-

unam. | aspiciunt omnes. alii deformia rident | tegmina nec cernunt verum in corde decorem. |  
ast alii secum compuncto corde queruntur | iustitiam potuisse inopis decernere egenti, | divite  
quod censu substantia larga negasset.'

<sup>37</sup> As in Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 79–80; cited below, note 107.

<sup>38</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, ed. by De Vogüé.

<sup>39</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Virtutes sancti Martini*, ed. by Krusch, II. 2 (p. 610): 'Fecit hoc virtus antestitis, quae saepe miseris opem proflua miseratione tribuit et infirmis medicamenta largitur.'

<sup>40</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 106–07 (p. 23).

<sup>41</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 107–10 (p. 23).

ception to enter into an affective seeing of the heart's spiritual reality as transparent images overlying visible appearances. After mentioning Martin's 'virtue bringing [him] close to God' ('virtus vicina Deo') by his attributing all to God, Paulinus reiterates another of his favourite views: because 'things seen make faith grow' ('augent visa fidem'), the vision made Martin seek baptism.<sup>42</sup> Instead of Sulpicius's short and trenchant story, then, we are given an imaged meditation on the spiritual realities in the various elements and aspects of the event, intended to inspire us to empathize with the beggar and act in concord with the compassionate saint.

Sulpicius's somewhat more detailed story of Martin's second recorded gift of his own clothing to a shivering beggar and the subsequent appearance of an ethereal flame extending from the saint's head<sup>43</sup> is treated in a similar manner: the poet again brings in the notion of beauty of the heart, but now manifested as light. We are told that during another winter Martin, having become bishop, gave away the tunic or shirt he wore under his liturgical vestment to another naked beggar because the archdeacon who had been asked to provide a garment for the poor man had forgotten to do so. When that archdeacon later comes to remind him, as usual, that Mass is about to begin, Paulinus adds to Sulpicius's text and lets Martin remind him of the primacy of compassion: 'The doctrine of the holy prophet must be carried out: compassion goes before the celebration of Mass; this is the most pleasing offer. Carry out his commandments and first clothe the naked!'<sup>44</sup> Angrily, the archdeacon then hastily bought a rough tunic and threw it at his bishop's feet; Paulinus tells us that the saint was delighted to put that humble garment on himself, under his episcopal vestment.

Then the poet again introduces an inversion, adding mental images that do not occur in Sulpicius's original, which describes only the visible events. Proceeding in this way to the altar, Paulinus writes, Martin was like 'a hero, much more beautiful through this attire' ('multo comptior heros hoc habitu'), like the sweaty, dirty soldier returning to his king after a successful battle.<sup>45</sup> Again an inversion and a double exposure. The images are congruent: Martin had been a soldier,

<sup>42</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 110–21 (pp. 23–24).

<sup>43</sup> Sulpicius Severus, Gallus, ed. by Fontaine, II. 1–2 (p. 222).

<sup>44</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, IV. 68–70 (p. 84): 'implenda est sanctae doctrina prophetarum. | praecedat missam miseratio. gratior haec est | hostia. mandatum faciens prius obtege nudum'.

<sup>45</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, IV. 78–81 (p. 84).

every Christian fights in Christ's service, as the saint elsewhere admonishes an ex-soldier,<sup>46</sup> and Christ is regarded as the real king. Paulinus explains:

He was more beautiful through this honour the uglier his bodily appearance was. For the substance of his virtue preceded its visible appearance, as the strength of a root continues through the [recurrent] times of its leaves. A mysterious [sign] soon proved [the existence of] this state beyond any doubt. For while he gathered the pious gifts during the solemn request, and then pronounced the immortal prayers through sacred words, a glowing flame shone from his bright head, enveloping his head with splendour, but not hurting his hair: it reached out and extended itself upwards in a luminous flowing, a brightness making its way through the air with a fiery furrow.<sup>47</sup>

The halo, with its flaming extension to heaven, then, was a visible manifestation of how Martin's invisible beauty of the heart, his wish to be united to Christ, connected him with heaven. It resembled, of course, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles.<sup>48</sup> Many of Paulinus's readers would have known, however, that a similar phenomenon had also been observed more recently around praying holy monks in the East.<sup>49</sup> Associating the saint here with the image of a tree, the well-known symbol of the tree of life and of the Cross as its newer continuation (another central Christian inversion),<sup>50</sup> points to Martin's total assimilation to the *crucified* Christ, which both Sulpicius and Paulinus stress. Thus Sulpicius describes a satanic apparition of Christ as a gaudily attired emperor as rejected by Martin, who demanded to see his wounds before he would worship it.<sup>51</sup> Paulinus,

<sup>46</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, iv. 594–639 (pp. 104–05).

<sup>47</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, iv. 82–91 (pp. 84–85): 'Pulchrior hoc titulis, quo membris turpior oris. | nam speciem virtutis opus praececit, ut altae | radices robor foliorum tempora transit. | nec dubia hoc votum mox coniectura probavit. | nam dum sollemni cumulat pia dona rogatu | prosequiturque sacris vota immortalia verbis, | offulsit rutilans claro de vertice flamma, | splendorem capiti infundens, innoxia crini, | perspicuo sursum porrecta atque edita tractu, | ignifluo liquidum perrumpens aëra sulco.'

<sup>48</sup> Acts 2. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Daniélou, 'Feuersäule (Lichtsäule, Wolkensäule)'. A similar phenomenon had once been observed when Ambrose read the words of the forty-third psalm, but it slowly entered into his mouth instead of rising to heaven: 'subito in modum scuti brevis ignis caput eius cooperuit, atque paulatim per os eius tanquam in domum habitator ingressus est'. The author was told by his deacon mentor that it was the Holy Spirit (Paulinus of Milan, *Vita sancti Ambrosii*, ed. by Bastiaensen, III, 108).

<sup>50</sup> See 'Baum des Lebens'.

<sup>51</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, xxiv. 4–8 (I, 306–08).

probably feeling unable to describe this false image through his usual meditative poetic process, instead subjects it to a lengthy violent reproach — again inducing a sense of presence that would induce his listeners to experience the event as happening before their eyes.<sup>52</sup> Fortunatus's version of this episode, a century later, although detailed, would revert to an authorial description.<sup>53</sup>

Predictably, Paulinus amplifies less in his rendering of Sulpicius's one-sentence mention of the ex-prefect Arborius's vision of heavenly jewels on Martin's cuff<sup>54</sup> — something that points to an image of a jewelled heavenly court. He writes:

Arborius saw Martin's shining and sparkling hand flashing with the light of jewels while he offered the holy Mass to God: his flaming right hand was clothed with precious beauty, and the clatter [was heard] of the stones colliding. Such gems do not decorate the standards of princes, nor surround the diademed heads of kings; but at the end [of the world], the judgement of the Lord will place such deserved jewels in the bright crowns of the saints.<sup>55</sup>

More clearly than in Sulpicius's original — which had preceded the story with a reference to Christ's working in Martin through 'the gifts of various graces' ('diversarum munera gratiarum') without explicitly pointing to a connection<sup>56</sup> — Paulinus's next sentence indicates that the jewels are spiritual images of the saint's 'shining' virtues:

It is not to be doubted that, on account of his outstanding purity of faith, he flashed with the various flowers of virtue in a more than human manner — he who, as the happy page of the historical book [i.e. Sulpicius's *Dialogues*] testifies, deserved to be comforted at close hand by angelic words.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, III. 363–410 (pp. 77–79).

<sup>53</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. by Quesnel, II. 278–354 (II, 41–44).

<sup>54</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Gallus*, ed. by Fontaine, III. 10. 6 (p. 328).

<sup>55</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 700–08 (p. 132): 'Arborius vidit fulgentum luce micantem | gemmarum, dum sancta deo sollemnia defert, | Martini rutilasse manum lumenque coruscum | vestire ignitam pretioso murice dextram | et conlisorum lapidum crepitare fragorem. | non tales vexilla ducum pinxere lapilli, | talia nec frontes regum diademata cingunt, | sed quales claris sanctorum in fine coronis | inserit emeritas domini sententia gemmas.'

<sup>56</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Gallus*, ed. by Fontaine, III. 10. 5 (p. 326).

<sup>57</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 709–12 (p. 132): 'Nec dubium quin praecipuae probitate fidei | ultra hominem vario virtutum flore coruscet, | quem coram angelici meritum solacia verbi | historici felix testatur pagina libri.' An

In contemporary poetry, jewels, flowers, and virtues were well-known synonyms.<sup>58</sup> Paulinus is careful to make his saint appear to be the opposite of beautiful in a sensory, this-worldly mode — the latter had, of course, been a quality of the pagan gods. Thus, his verse attempts to communicate a kind of beauty that is only indirectly manifested in visible things and which can be recognized only by those whose hearts are already 'changed' and their perception 'enlightened' — tuned in, as it were, to the wavelength of the spiritual object of their vision. His overtly spiritualized version of the stories of Martin's life and deeds is intended to bring the reader into this state of awareness.

Whereas Sulpicius had pointed to Martin's visible actions as indicating that the saint's holy way of life had everything to do with his being constantly joined in spirit to the heavenly Christ,<sup>59</sup> Paulinus sometimes visualizes this invisible dimension.<sup>60</sup> He images it through another inversional double exposure: that of the saint's mind rising to or already living in heaven while his body remains on earth. This dynamic image and its equivalents appear to show that the poet did not assume a continuous merging of the saint's and Christ's identities, but one that had to be effected or intensified from time to time. Although, like Sulpicius,<sup>61</sup> he writes that Martin's 'mind was filled with God' ('mens plena Deo'),<sup>62</sup> and also notes that 'he already lived in heaven' ('coelesti in sede manebat'),<sup>63</sup> he elsewhere says that during prayer his 'mind travelled to heaven' ('mens ad sidera transit').<sup>64</sup> In one description of the saint doing this, the poet constructs an extended counterpoint:

Then, rising to heaven with his soul, but prostrate in body, his sacred heart rising aloft, but his limbs close to the ground, his flesh lay motionless, but his mind lived: the mind joined to God rose to heaven, while the pride of the flesh was trodden

angel comforted Martin in Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues*, ed. by Fontaine, III. 13. 4 (p. 342) = Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 720–24 (p. 133).

<sup>58</sup> Elsewhere, the poet refers to Martin as 'the mirror of eternal virtue' (*aeternae speculum virtutis*) (Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 5 (p. 131)).

<sup>59</sup> As in Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, XXVII. 1 (I, 314): 'Numquam in illius ore nisi Christus'.

<sup>60</sup> As in Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 80, 467, 615 (pp. 110, 123, 129, respectively).

<sup>61</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, III. 1 (I, 256): 'vir Deo plenus'.

<sup>62</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 146 (p. 24).

<sup>63</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 297 (p. 31).

<sup>64</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, II. 185 (p. 42).

upon. Thus two dissimilar ways were brought into agreement by one act; thus humility hastens to where faith has preceded her.<sup>65</sup>

To ‘ascend’ to the heavenly consciousness, he is saying, one must completely humble one’s self-will and self-consciousness and open one’s heart in trust to the dynamics of a larger, supra-rational reality. Resembling Paulinus’s meditative state of poesis, this is a strategy for accessing an altered, non-common-sense, state of mind that merges with heavenly reality; the reader is implicitly invited to join in.

Sulpicius’s original description of Martin’s resuscitation of the dead catechumens gives details mostly about Martin’s visible actions.<sup>66</sup> Before sending the others away, Sulpicius writes, Martin ‘took hold of the Holy Spirit with his whole mind’ (*‘tota sanctum Spiritum mente concipiens’*), prostrated himself upon the dead man’s body, and prayed; then, when ‘he sensed through his spirit that the power of the Lord was present’ (*‘sensissetque per spiritum Domini adesse uirtutem’*),<sup>67</sup> he lifted himself up and while looking expectantly at the dead man’s face, waited confidently for the result, which came about slowly during the following two hours. Before attempting the resuscitation, then, Martin first opened his consciousness to the inflowing of the Holy Spirit. Although the event, at least in the telling if not in the act itself, may have been modelled upon that of Elijah and the widow’s son,<sup>68</sup> its visible aspect also looks somewhat like a modern resuscitation.

Paulinus’s version, however, surprisingly does not expand upon Martin’s enlarged consciousness but again brings in compassion — Christ’s, this time — and connects its arrival specifically with the saint’s trust in it. When Martin entered alone into the cell of the dead man,

he threw himself upon his dead friend, embraced with his whole body the cold limbs of the deceased, and breathed a light breath above the rigid lips. At the same time, almost all his hope was brought before the Lord: in his customary piety, he prayed; [Christ’s] well-known compassion was requested; and by believing [that he would be heard] the merit of his faith deserved [it]. With the pure faith of his heart, he saw God to be present, and his heart sensed its effect in its pious sighs.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 77–82 (p. 110): ‘Tum sublimi animo erectus, sed corpore pronus, | sursum cor statuens, sed membra deorsum, | carne iacet, sed mente viget. conscendit in altum | mens coniuncta deo, premitur iactantia carnis. | sic via dissimilis concordii adiungitur actu, | sic humiles properant quo praecessere fideles.’

<sup>66</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, VII (I, 266–68).

<sup>67</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, VII. 3 (I, 268).

<sup>68</sup> 1 Kings 17. 17–24.

<sup>69</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 329–36

Here, the trust itself that grace will come is said to have 'deserved' the gift of its arrival. As will be seen below, Paulinus describes the exact same thing as happening in the cure of his grandson. Trusting or believing, then, also functions as a silent invocation. Martin's 'seeing' God to be present — perhaps a substitution having to do with poetic metre, but possibly also another indication of the poet's visual orientation — and the saint's feeling and reacting to the presence of this power also through his body is, as far as I know, a unique description in the hagiography up to this time. The addition of this latter detail may point to the poet's having experienced something similar himself, and it functions as the sensory component and verification of the invisible dimension of the event.

### *'Mysteries of the Kingdom'*

Although Paulinus prefers to focus upon Martin's to-be-imitated compassion, most of the deeds which Sulpicius had reported of Martin *were* miracles. The manner in which the poet intends to treat these is announced at the very beginning of his poem, when he says about Christ's miracles during his life on earth that they had 'opened the mysteries of the Gospel's Kingdom' ('euangelici reserans mysteria regni').<sup>70</sup> Since these miracles had not been seen by everyone everywhere, however, Paulinus continues, those of weak intelligence hesitated to believe them on hearsay. There is still doubt, then,

for the things recounted move [their hearers] through words, but the things [themselves] through their presence; [the people] may indeed be persuaded through [stories of] things not seen, but what is seen is demonstrated. That is why he who sows equal mercy through the whole world also gave many miracles in our lands by granting the distinguished Martin to the far-away Gauls.<sup>71</sup>

As we shall see Paulinus again indicate in his inscription, seeing is believing. Rather than making the miracles he relates believable by naming persons and

(p. 32): 'Tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum, | cunctis frigentes membris conplectitur artus | adspirans tenuem super ora rigentia flatum. | attamen ad dominum penitus spes tota refertur: | adsueta oratur pietas, miseratio nota | poscitur et meritum fidei credendo meretur. | vidit adesse deum puri fiducia cordis, | effectum piis senserunt viscera flabris.'

<sup>70</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 2 (p. 19).

<sup>71</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 6–10 (p. 19): 'Nam verbis comperta movent, praesentia rebus: | Suadentur non visa quidem, sed visa probantur, | ille ergo, in totum cui par miseratio mundum, | sevit et in nostris miracula plurima teris, | donans extremis Martini insignia Gallis.'

places, as Sulpicius had done, Paulinus in his poem appears to be saying that he intends to make miraculous events ‘present’ through his elaborate word-pictures. Instead of being overly ample ‘decoration’ then, as some scholars have thought,<sup>72</sup> his added visual details are meant to induce the reader or listener to visualize and, through the spontaneous affective mimesis this entails, re-enact the event in question. The poet’s frequently interjected direct addresses to the saint, to other persons appearing in the story, as well as to the reader,<sup>73</sup> also point to his effecting a sense of presence that would induce the reader’s empathy with the persons concerned.

What, then, are the ‘mysteries’ which Paulinus thinks might be manifested and communicated in Martin’s visible miracles? His version of Sulpicius’s story about Martin and the leper appears to reveal one of these. Sulpicius’s original story consisted of only two sentences:

Among the Parisians, in truth, as [Martin] entered the city gate with a large crowd going with him, everyone froze in horror while he kissed and blessed a leper with a horrid face. Cleansed at once of every affliction, [the man] came to the church the following day with a shining skin and gave thanks for the health which he had received.<sup>74</sup>

Paulinus’s version begins by praising the saint’s humble mind and ‘instant compassion’ (*miseratio prompta*), compassion that rejected no one and loved all,<sup>75</sup> and continues: ‘For a wicked leprosy covered someone with a horrendous disease, soiling his whole skin with a covering of spots, and spreading thick drops upon his mutilated body.’<sup>76</sup> Other men, unaware that the same misfortune could happen to them, unjustly scorned him. But when the saint entered the Parisian gate,

<sup>72</sup> See Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>73</sup> For example: Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 45–53 (to Martin’s slave while in the army), I. 90–93 (to Martin himself), I. 170–72 (to the reader), I. 175–77 (to Martin), I. 304–07 (to Martin), I. 315–16 (to the reader) (pp. 20–21, 22, 25, 26, 31, 31, respectively).

<sup>74</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, XVIII. 3–4 (I, 292): ‘Apud Parisios vero, dum portam civitatis illius magnis secum turbis euntibus introiret, leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est, atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus, postero die ad ecclesiam veniens nitenti cute gratias pro sanitate, quam receperat, agebat.’

<sup>75</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, II. 619 (p. 58).

<sup>76</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, II. 621–23 (p. 58): ‘Nam quendam horrendo lepra texerat inproba morbo, | inficiens cunctam macularum tegmine carnem | et spargens densas vitiatum in corpore guttas.’

he gave the unfortunate man a kiss, and so touched him with his face and his mouth, not fearing to soil his face by such a contact: he pressed upon him with joined lips the sign of peace. The other souls standing around drew back [in horror]; but the man was overjoyed, for he felt in this touching the benefit of a divine gift: instant health coursing speedily and spreading through his body, and a sudden brightness in his renewed skin.<sup>77</sup>

All this detail and the reference, again, to a physical sensing, this time of the spreading cure, help listeners to empathize with the leper and thereby to re-enact and sense the experience of the illness and its healing in their own body-selves. Paulinus thereupon hopes to transpose the saint's empathy to himself — and, by implication, to the listener — saying: 'Would that a similar compassion would touch our illnesses, and that Martin, praying, would wish to expel with his kiss the spots from our miserable heart!'<sup>78</sup> This, then, appears to be the 'mystery' revealed by the miracle: Martin's kiss of peace is a visible, dynamic image of the invisible affective pattern of Christ's saving and cleansing of humankind, spiritually and physically. Paulinus's imaged description invites the reader/listener to experience empathy with the leper in his heart and body through mentally imaging, and thereby affectively replicating, first the illness and then the effect of Martin's kiss.<sup>79</sup> The poet concludes this episode on a personal note: were the Saint indeed to cleanse his heart,

then I would be called back to true peace, and be able to lift a healed face to the holy mysteries [of the Church's liturgy]. For after the loss of my properties, of my earthly inheritance, my hope depends upon the face of the merciful Lord: that by renouncing the food of swine, that is, the pleasures of the flesh, I would receive the certain signs of true faith.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, II. 630–36 (p. 58): 'Oscula dat misero, vultu conexus et ore, | nec metuens tali faciem sordescere tactu | inpressit iunctus pacis signacula labris. | obstipuerunt aliis animi. gavisus at ille | sensit in adtactu divini munera doni, | et remeare citam raptim per membra salutem, | dispergi et celerem renovata in carne nitorem.'

<sup>78</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, II. 641–43 (p. 59): 'utinam nostros similis clementia morbos | tangeret, et miseri maculas depellere cordis | orans tam sancto Martinus vellet ab ore!'

<sup>79</sup> See McFague, *Speaking in Parables*, pp. 138–42.

<sup>80</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, II. 644–49 (p. 59): 'Tum credo ad verae revocarer gaudia pacis, | sanatum ad tollens sancta ad mysteria vultum, | et post eversum, dederat quem portio, census | spes mea clementis domini penderet ab ore, | porcorumque escas linquens vel gaudia carnis | acciperem verae signacula certa fidei.'

Here Paulinus appears to speak of his personal situation, one that contemporaries would recognize. The ‘signs’ mentioned could be either miracles<sup>81</sup> or inner sensings of spiritual healing.

*‘Recalling the Faith [...] Stored in his Body-self’*

In the story of his grandson’s cure, Paulinus gives a unique description of what might be the physical effect of imaginatively re-enacting Martin’s miracles. The notion of healing through contact with a power-laden person or object had come to be well known in this period, but there is, as far as I know, no mention of a Christian cure through a *written document* before the turn of the fifth century, when Sulpicius Severus described how physical contact with a handwritten letter sent by Martin as Bishop to the Christian prefect Arborius cured his daughter.<sup>82</sup> Here, it is not the content of the letter, which is purely administrative, that is powerful;<sup>83</sup> its effective power is evidently thought to derive from its past physical contact with the God-filled holy man’s hand. In the case of Paulinus’s grandson, however, the letter’s content appears to be precisely what precipitates the cure.

The story is one of the most moving, most elaborate, and most interesting hagiographical reports of this period.<sup>84</sup> Behind the veil of stylistic clichés, the poet sometimes again seems to show his own face: that of a tired old man, who has been hit by great misfortune — no doubt connected with the then-recurrent wars and spoliations — and sees in the saint the only hope in which he can still believe. At the same time, the unprecedentedly precise description he gives of the healing process appears to show that, in his own fifth-century way, he was aware that firmly believing in and mentally imaging a saint’s miracles — as well as touching their verbal materialization in writing — could somehow bring their transformational power to the spot.

<sup>81</sup> As in Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 869, p. 138: ‘verba silent sed signa nitent’.

<sup>82</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, XIX. 1 (I, 292).

<sup>83</sup> Sulpicius precludes upon the story by noting that mediated contact — threads pulled from Martin’s clothing and hung upon the sick — often cured them (Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, XVIII. 4–5 (I, 292)); in the later *Dialogues*, he asserts that, just as in the Gospel story (Matthew 9. 20–22), a woman with a flow of blood was instantly cured by touching the hem of the saint’s garment (Sulpicius Severus, *Gallus*, ed. by Fontaine, III. 9. 3 (p. 322)).

<sup>84</sup> See Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé*, pp. 19–28.

Paulinus's report begins with a statement of principle: 'It is the salvation itself [of the soul] that brings back life (*ipsa salus uitam revehit*).'<sup>85</sup> Spiritual healing, then, precedes physical healing. Presumably, this is what the story he is about to tell will show. His grandson and his fiancée, Paulinus then tells us, were both mortally ill, hardly being able to breathe — this sounds like pneumonia — and having only a scarcely detectable pulse; fearing that the worst was about to happen, the author had avoided seeing them. But the young man had one hope left: to commit his plight to the 'patron' who had assisted others in the neighbourhood, St Martin. For he had unrolled and read a few days earlier a document (*charta*) listing the saint's more recent miracles. The document was signed by the hand of Bishop Perpetuus himself, happy to praise his dead teacher. The sick young man asked for this document 'with a scarcely audible murmur, but with unhesitating faith and certain hope. This faith gave the exhausted youth the strength to speak, and grace loosened his constricted tongue'.<sup>86</sup> The strategy of healing then follows:

For in the middle of the fires lighted by the fever, he applied the palm [branches] of these deeds of holy power to his heaving breast, and, by recalling the faith which wrote [these things], stored in his very entrails, he caught hold of whatever [secret power] the page held hidden, and the instant remedy rushed towards his wish. Commanded by so many miracles, his sweat jolted up; and the rank of such a gift grew to be equal to those [earlier miracles], so that what would be written about it would produce faith in the earlier events that are preserved in writing. Amber does not raise up a stalk of hay with as swift a leap [as that with which] the humour of the moist body, hurrying upon its command, came towards the document.<sup>87</sup>

This is one of the most fascinating statements in miracle literature. According to the treatise *Forms of Spiritual Understanding*, written by Paulinus's contemporary, Bishop Eucherius of Lyon, the palm is a symbol of 'perfection or victory' and of prolonged vitality, as in the psalm text: 'the righteous man will flourish like a

<sup>85</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 21 (p. 162).

<sup>86</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 39–42 (p. 163): 'vix linguae murmure parvo | incunctante fide, spes non incerta poposcit. | exanimi iuveni vires fiducia fandi | praestitit et fessam laxavit gratia linguam.'

<sup>87</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 43–54 (p. 163): 'Ergo inter medios quos febris moverat ignes | virtutum palmas stomacho coniunxit anhelus, | et rapuit, recolendo fidem quae scripsit, in ipsis | condita visceribus quidquid conclusa tegebat | pagina, et ad votum velox medicina cucurrit. | exiluit iussus tanta ad miracula sudor, | crevit et ad numerum tanti quoque muneris ordo, | ut scribenda fidem faciant, quam scripta retentant. | non tam pernici suspendunt sucina saltu | fistucam faeni vicini glute vaporis, | quam citus ad chartam madefacti corporis humor | mandato celerante redit.'

palm.<sup>88</sup> The expression 'palm [branches] of deeds', then, has connotations of victory, regeneration, and perhaps immortality.<sup>89</sup> What Paulinus appears to be saying is that the written words describing (imaging) these 'victories' of holy power over evil *participate in their referent*, and that when they are applied to the young man's chest, the power patterns they describe are physically transmitted to his body — not, however, without the patient simultaneous re-enacting the author's faithful recalling of these miracles.

Could this process also be understood as a remembering of and a returning to his own imaginative re-enactment of the events he had read about a few days earlier? If so, we might understand his storing of this experience 'in his very entrails' as the incorporating of Perpetuus's images of Martin's and Christ's 'victories' over evil into what we might call his affective body-self image. What Paulinus may be describing, then, is the young man's activation of his earlier affective *mimesis* of the text, deepened through its incubation in his heart of hearts, and thereby his conscious assimilation — and affective replication — of its transformational leaps. Paulinus, however, tells us more guardedly that his grandson in this way 'caught hold of whatever the page held hidden'. These words appear to point to the belief that the divine power patterns made visible in the miracles were held to be present also in their formally analogous written representations. The description of the healing process as thereupon taking place upon a 'command' deserves some elucidation. The term had been prominent in Sulpicius's descriptions of the living St Martin acting as a man of power. In Paulinus's story, 'power' or grace is brought to the spot through a quasi-ritual act of silent invocation accompanied by contact with power-laden written words — the latter a practice connected with contemporary Christian verbal amulets.<sup>90</sup> The command here is presumably that of Christ through Martin, transmitted through the mention of both their names in the text of the document, which would similarly have been understood to effect their presence.

The rush of sweat is evidently understood to be the beginning of recovery, for Paulinus continues: 'Life now returning with hope; he tenderly called for his grandfather to announce the gift so great, and told me to add what he deeply felt

<sup>88</sup> Eucherius of Lyon, *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae*, ed. by Mandolfo, III. 343–44 (p. 21), referring to Psalm 91. 13.

<sup>89</sup> Compare Chevalier and Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, p. 724.

<sup>90</sup> Christian amulets existed in this period: pieces of (folded) papyrus, containing written prayers to, or invocations of, powerful names and/or containing formulaic putatively 'powerful' words, sometimes including Gospel descriptions of miracles, that were presumably worn on the body to ward off evil and disease; see Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, pp. 33–42.

to be his cure to the other signs.<sup>91</sup> Paulinus may also be revealing knowledge of the continuing Hippocratic medical tradition, which asserted that profuse sweating on the seventh day of being afflicted with pneumonia was the beginning of recovery<sup>92</sup> and that perspiration helped noxious vapours or humours to escape from a sick body.<sup>93</sup> After a compact reference to the subject's guilt and the saint's clemency as patron<sup>94</sup> that appears to point to the illness being perceived as a result of, or punishment for, some kind of sin, Paulinus describes the actual recovery as a longer process: 'Soon, after the fitting number of days [of convalescence], which often deceives the hope and calculations of the ignorant patient, health was there, helped by prayers.'<sup>95</sup> All these specifics seem to indicate that Paulinus had some medical knowledge, but it did not preclude his firm conviction of the primacy of the spiritual element in healing.

For he continues by saying that true grace, therefore, is not confined by place, and its power is infinite, increased by God: 'For curing touches that through which the Saviour is present. So far distant from the tomb, the room received what the waiting mind asked for, and it entered the place at the moment that it was believed to do so.'<sup>96</sup> Christ, and/or the saint, is thus present through written words about him, but only if these words are truly believed in and trusted. Most arresting, however, is the statement pointing to *the coincidence of the perceived impact of the healing energy with the imaginative act of its being believed to take place*.

What happened here — ostensibly without a verbal invocation — resembles at least one modern Christian healing strategy. The faith healer and author Mrs Agnes Sanford, more than fifty years ago, in her book *The Healing Light*, insists that to make a prayed-for healing occur, it must be *firmly believed and concretely visualized as actually taking place at that very moment*.<sup>97</sup> She instructs her patients

<sup>91</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 54–57 (p. 163): 'spe vita revertens | affectu quaesivit avum quasi nuntia tanti | muneris, et reliquis iussit me iungere signis | quam persensit opem.'

<sup>92</sup> Siegel, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine*, p. 326.

<sup>93</sup> Siegel, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine*, p. 103.

<sup>94</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 57–59 (pp. 163–64).

<sup>95</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 60–62 (p. 164): 'nec mora commoditas, numerum praegressa dierum | quo saepe ignaros spes dinumerata fefellit, | auxiliis orantis adest.'

<sup>96</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 62–67 (p. 164): 'Nec clauditur ullis | gratia vera locis, nec vires terminus artat | quas deus adcumulat. propter curatio tangit | qua salvator adest. tam longe abiuncta sepulchro | cellula suscepti, quod mens adtenta poposcit, | atque ipso ingressa est quo credita gratia puncto.'

<sup>97</sup> Sanford, *The Healing Light*, pp. 21–24.

to end every prayer for healing with the command-like statement 'Amen', meaning (she says): 'This shall be'; and she states baldly: 'The law is that in praying we must believe that we are receiving the thing for which we pray [...] *that [it] is at that moment being accomplished*' (italics added).<sup>98</sup> In his own culture-specific way, Paulinus appears to have recognized these strategies more than fifteen centuries ago, and he is unlikely to have been the only one. Some of Gregory of Tours's stories of cures by the dead St Martin, for instance, can be read as implying an unselfconscious, very similar process.<sup>99</sup>

Studies of Western guided-imagery therapies and of shamanistic rituals all over the world point to the fact that internalized representations or enacted visualizations of appropriate images play a decisive role in spiritual and physical healing, because of the spontaneous affective mimesis they induce in the body as well as in the mind.<sup>100</sup> For an image has been described as making visible and inspectable the psychic pattern of movement or 'dynamism' of a specific mode of feeling.<sup>101</sup> Through visualizing a healing image, otherwise inaccessible emotional patterns in our unconscious field can be addressed and transformed. And this, apparently, happens through a biological connection between mind and body which now appears to have been discovered: a biochemical compound that acts as the biological correlate of emotions and attitudes. The biomedical scientist Candace Pert, in her book *Molecules of Emotion*,<sup>102</sup> describes how she discovered intelligent messenger molecules (neuropeptides) that respond to emotional states and attitudes and, travelling through the body, translate these into instant congruent commands to all its systems. Contacts with ancient non-Western medical practices too, however, have stimulated the Western medical profession as a whole towards a view that recognizes the presence of 'mind' or 'intelligence' throughout the body.<sup>103</sup> This new mind-body medicine sees illness as originating in, and needing to be addressed as, a disharmony in this overall 'intelligence' that precedes and precipitates physical symptoms; in his own terms, Paulinus was right,

<sup>98</sup> Sanford, *The Healing Light*, pp. 56, 163.

<sup>99</sup> See, for instance, de Nie, 'History and Miracle'.

<sup>100</sup> Chopra, *Quantum Healing*, pp. 11–37 and passim; Moyers, *Healing and the Mind* — a series of interviews; Heinze and others, *Shamans of the 20th Century*; Achterberg, *Imagery in Healing*. A recent scientist's assessment is Pyysiäinen, *Magic, Miracles, and Religion*.

<sup>101</sup> Bachelard, *L'Air et les songes*, pp. 10–13. See also Langer, *Feeling and Form*, p. 59 and passim; Epstein, *Waking Dream Therapy*, p. 18.

<sup>102</sup> Pert, *Molecules of Emotion*. See also Pert, 'The Chemical Communicators'.

<sup>103</sup> Pert, 'The Chemical Communicators', p. 191.

then, about the soul's health preceding that of the body.<sup>104</sup> Accordingly, therapies of so-called 'guided imagery' are now increasingly being employed to transform the body's image of itself and thereby initiate its spontaneous healing.<sup>105</sup>

The young man then helped his fiancée recover in the same manner, but at first not without the curious fear of losing his own health if he let her also touch the document. Paulinus concludes by saying that he will praise the saint as long as he lives, and then asks the saint to take care of the other members of his family as well as of himself: 'provide intimate comfort to my old age, committed as it is to you, granting it quickly what it wishes and maintaining what has already been given'.<sup>106</sup> The poet thus appears to have been traumatized by loss — in all likelihood not only of his properties but also of this grandson's parents.

### *'If You Doubt, Perceive the Miracles'*

Paulinus's inscription in St Martin's church,<sup>107</sup> finally, shows how many of the key elements in his poem were intended to function in actual practice:

You who, bowing to the floor, have rubbed your face in the dust, and pressed your moist eyes to the compacted ground, lift your eyes: with a trembling gaze take in the miracles and entrust your cause to the distinguished patron. No [written] page can hold so great powers, even though the stones and rocks are engraved with these inscriptions. An earthly construction does not enclose what the royal palace of heaven received into its midst, and what the stars inscribe with flashing jewels. If you seek Martin's assistance, rise again through the stars and, after you have examined the angelic company in the upper air, reach heaven. There, search for the patron who is joined to the Lord, always following the footsteps of the eternal King.

And if you doubt, perceive the miracles that are taken in by your eyes, by which the true Redeemer honours the merit of his servant. You come here as an eyewitness among so many thousands of others; while you are looking at that which is spoken about, skilfully also weave what you see into the story.

<sup>104</sup> As Pert, *Molecules of Emotion*, p. 19.

<sup>105</sup> An early example is Siegel, *Love, Medicine and Miracles*.

<sup>106</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de visitatione*, ed. by Petschenig, 79–80 (p. 164): 'tibi commissam propior solare senectam, | optata indulgens propere vel praestita servans'.

<sup>107</sup> On this inscription and the pictures to which it refers, see Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 807–08, 817–21. Older studies are Egger, 'Vom Ursprung des romanischen Chorturmkirche', pp. 103–04, and Sauvel, 'Les Miracles de saint-Martin', pp. 158–59. I am grateful to Annemiek Tamboer for these references.

Whatever a page in the Holy Books has expressed, [Martin] begins anew through God's renewing [of things]. Through this gift rejoice the blind, the crippled, the poor, the possessed, the distressed, the sick, the infirm, the oppressed, the imprisoned, the grieving, the needy: every cure rejoices through the apostolic signs. Whoever comes weeping, leaves happy. All clouds give way; whatever troubles one's conscience, [the saint's] remedy clears away. Seek his help: you do not knock on these doors in vain. His so abounding compassion extends into the whole world.<sup>108</sup>

Since the pictures — perhaps mosaics — were evidently meant to be seen clearly, they were probably not too far up on the wall. Seeing the events represented there would help the pilgrim to visualize and thus experience and remember them more vividly. It is not clear where the pictures of Martin's miracles were located: perhaps on the south wall, perhaps on a tower-like construction upon his tomb.<sup>109</sup> Luce Pietri regards Paulinus's reference to the renewing of Christ's miracles as referring to a specific picture, with its own inscription, on the north wall above the door to the river Loire, of Christ walking on water;<sup>110</sup> the poet would be referring especially to the recent miracle described in the sixth book of his poem: the pilgrims once saved at Easter from drowning in the Loire.<sup>111</sup> And Paulinus's mention of the heavenly court would point to another picture, with its own inscription, on the north wall: the church of Sion as that of Jerusalem, constructed upon the location of the place where the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles at Pentecost.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Versus de orantibus*, ed. by Petschenig, p. 165; Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, no. 11, pp. 807–08: 'Quisque solo adclinis mersisti in puluere vultum | humidaque inlissae pressisti lumina terrae, | attollens oculos trepido miracula visu | concipe et eximio causam committe patrono. | nulla potest tantas complecti pagina vires, | quamquam ipsa his titulis caementa et saxa notentur. | terrenum non claudit opus, quod regia caeli | suscipit et rutilis inscribunt sidera gemmis. | Martini si quaeris opem, trans astra resurgens | tange polum, angelicum scrutatus in aethere coetum. | illic coniunctum domino perquire patronum, | sectantem aeterni semper vestigia regis. | si dubitas, ingesta oculis miracula cerne, | quis famuli meritum verus salvator honorat. | accedis reliquis inter tot milia testis, | dum narranda vides sollers et visa retexis. | in sanctis quidquid signavit pagina libris, | instaurat renovante deo. quo munere gaudent | caecus, clodus, inops, furiosus, anxius, aeger, | debilis, oppressus, captivus, maestus, egenus. | omnis apostolicis gaudet curatio signis. | qui flens adfuerit, laetus redit. omnia cedunt | nubila. quod meritum turbat, medicina serenat. | expete praesidium: non frustra haec limina pulsas. | in cunctum perget pietas tam prodiga mundum.'

<sup>109</sup> Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 820, n. 38.

<sup>110</sup> Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 807, no. 9, referring to Matthew 14. 29–31.

<sup>111</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, VI. 351–415 (pp. 153–55).

<sup>112</sup> Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 807, no. 10, pointing to Acts 2. 1–4.

The episcopal throne of Jerusalem's first bishop, James, also depicted there, would be a parallel to what will be seen as the poem's reference to Martin as the apostle of the Gauls and founder of the church of Tours.<sup>113</sup>

In the inscription, another image for the pilgrim's mind to develop and re-enact is that of seeking out his 'patron' by rising through the stars, seeing the angelic company there and entering the palace of the heavenly King — just as Paulinus, in his poem, shows Martin always doing during prayer. It resembles the liturgical *sursum corda*, that is, the leaving behind of the everyday sensory world to enter a non-sensory dimension of experience, wherein spontaneously arising mental images may represent patterns of truth that do not have an affinity for words. As we saw, the poem, too, attempts to lift the reader's mind into a seeing of spiritual realities through images that represent its invisible patterns.

But the saint's tomb is in fact the centre of a real and all-pervading, if invisible, power. In his poem, before reporting the recent miracles, Paulinus first addresses the dead saint himself as always present and listening to those praying, and then explains to the listeners:

for his spirit is enveloped by his nearby body, and grace suffuses the holy stone [of his tomb]. Nor is he far away from petitioning faith when shouting hearts present their own cases without voice or sound. He who reads the words of the mind, who looks into the feelings and sees the heart, discerns the deepest secrets of one's inner being.<sup>114</sup>

Paulinus's words here could function as a recipe — to be re-enacted by his listeners, especially those listening in the church — for opening one's heart and sensing/imagining/experiencing the saint's looking and listening there. The pilgrim, however, can even 'see' the saint. For as Paulinus says at the end of the poem: 'If you remove yourself a little from physical sight, you will see him present through his power.'<sup>115</sup> He appears to be saying that this happens when one visualizes the memory images of Martin's miracles produced by reading or listening to the poem, possibly shaped and enlivened by the memory images of the pictures one

<sup>113</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, I. 9–10 (p. 19).

<sup>114</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, VI. 7–12 (p. 139): 'Quam bene vicinus propter complectitur artus | spiritus et sanctum perfundit gratia saxum! | nil longe est pulsante fide. clamantia corda | allegant proprias sine voce et murmure causas. | mentis verba legit, qui sensum introspicit et cor | visit et arcanum percenset pectoris antrum.'

<sup>115</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. by Petschenig, v. 869–70 (p. 138): 'si corpore paulum | a visu abstraheris, praesens virtute videris'.

is seeing. I think that he also meant this to be an imaging, and an inner re-enactment, and thereby an actual experience, of the miracles in question. Through this imaging, the dynamic patterns made visible in the miracles would be replicated in the heart and would perhaps precipitate analogous experiences of healing.

### *Paulinus's Poetics of Miracle*

To conclude, it looks as though Paulinus's 'change of awareness' was a personal conversion into a meditative state of mind that affectively assimilated him to Martin's 'abounding compassion'. Its empathy and perhaps somewhat clairvoyant 'enlightened perception' made him able to describe the events of the saint's life as it were from the inside in such a way as not only to induce the reader's or listener's empathy with the saint and the afflicted, but also to effect his interior replication of the miracles' transformational processes. The beauty now to be sought was not that of visible appearances but that of patterns in the holy heart. By finding/inventing<sup>116</sup> dynamic images during his meditation upon Martin's deeds to represent the invisible patterns in the events and then superimposing them upon often quite contrary visible appearances, Paulinus hoped to induce the reader to enact and replicate what he saw mentally and through this experience also to undergo a change of awareness: to see, feel, and thereby participate in what he considered to be the patterns of the true invisible spiritual reality. And in this way, I suggest, he hoped to reveal and transmit what he experienced as the *poetics*, the creative and transformational imagistic dynamics, of the compassionate 'mysteries of [God's] Kingdom'.

Giselle de Nie

Associate Professor of Medieval History  
University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

<sup>116</sup> On this process, see Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor*, trans. by Czerny, p. 246.

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## RECONSTRUCTING SANCTITY AND REFIGURING SAINTS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL GAUL

Constance B. Bouchard

The skimpy selection of saints honoured in the fourth and fifth centuries had become an extremely plentiful collection of saints by the late sixth century. This surge in numbers was *not* due to a large number of holy persons attaining sanctity in the intervening period. Rather, martyrs and estimable bishops from two hundred to four hundred years earlier were rediscovered as saints during the sixth century and translated into the churches. Long dead and long forgotten saints were integrated for the first time into the living Christian community. This increase in the number of saints was accompanied by a proliferation of saints' lives, *vitae*. As the newly sanctioned and rather precarious Christian religion of the fourth century became the institutionalized religion of the sixth century, the memory of Christian saints was also transformed. *Vitae* were written and rewritten both to assure the memory of a saint and to make his or her life resonate in the context of the community's present needs. The saints of the past had to be holy, of course, but they also had to be people with whom the Christian community of the sixth century could feel empathy.

It has been suggested that this multiplication of saints was one way to combat lingering pagan tendencies, through defining both the landscape and society as a whole as thoroughly Christian.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the cause, the rapid changes in the ways that Christians of early medieval Gaul thought about their religious past are epitomized in the ways that they wrote and rewrote their saints' lives.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the earliest effort to put the writing and rewriting of saints' lives into a historical

Even when the same saint continued to be venerated, a new *vita* often seemed necessary within a few generations — sometimes after only one generation. A second hagiographer might merely want to stress an aspect of the saint that had not seemed important to an earlier author. But often the assumptions about the fundamental nature of both holiness and Church structure had evolved, and a new *vita* was needed to reflect these new assumptions.

I shall illustrate these changing assumptions by examining the writing and rewriting of the *vitae* of five saints from fifth- and sixth-century Gaul, saints who, unlike many of the earlier martyrs, are now considered historical figures. It is not surprising that martyr saints, who lived many generations before their relics were discovered and commemorated, should have had very malleable *vitae*. But here I shall demonstrate that even confessor saints, whose first *vitae* were generally written by people who had known them personally (or at least were writing when others still remembered interacting with the saint), were equally subject to re-remembering. A continual current in the rewriting of saints' lives was establishing an empathic relationship between the saint and those who read the *vita*. As the audience changed over the generations, so did the saints with whom the audience was expected to identify.

At the beginning of the fifth century, saints, relics, and post-mortem miracles were all scarce, but by the end of the sixth century, the tombs of the holy dead had become central loci of sanctity. During the same period, bishops changed from politically marginalized missionaries combatting paganism to well-established and comfortable administrators of their dioceses. The hermits and wanderers who earlier had been found all around the Mediterranean were largely replaced by monks (and occasionally nuns) living institutionalized lives in the cloister, supported by royal generosity. I shall here examine how the writing and rewriting of the *vitae* of five saints at the dawn of the Middle Ages reflected the Church's changing needs, assumptions, and memories in these two centuries. Martin of Tours, the first major confessor saint of Gaul, had a *vita* from around the year 400 which was used as a model by many later hagiographers. But the image of Martin evolved along with the Church between about 400 and 600. Germanus of Auxerre, who lived in the mid-fifth century, two generations after Martin, was nearly as influential in establishing a model of sanctity. Caesarius of Arles had two separate *vitae* written within less than a decade after his death in the mid-sixth century, and their presentation as Books I and II of his 'life' should not obscure

context was by Genicot, '*Discordiae concordantium*'. I am grateful to Michael McCormick for first alerting me to this article.

that they were written by different authors for very different purposes. Genovefa and Radegund, who lived respectively a generation and a century after Germanus, demonstrate that female as well as male saints could be reconceptualized as the churches of Gaul rethought their pasts and the meanings of holiness.

### *Martin of Tours*

The developments in the ways that saints were conceptualized may be seen vividly in the various *vitae* written about Martin of Tours (c. 316–97) during the two hundred years between the end of the fourth century and the end of the sixth. As well as being Gaul's first major confessor saint, he was the first to have his *vita* extensively rewritten over the generations, as Raymond Van Dam recently noted.<sup>3</sup> In the high Middle Ages, all these different versions were known and treated as a unit with a more or less coherent story to tell, but that should not obscure how different were the intentions of their original authors and the versions of the story they told.<sup>4</sup>

Sulpicius Severus (c. 360–c. 420/25), Martin's first biographer and someone who had known him personally, wrote of a saint who defied all the normal expectations of society in late fourth-century Gaul. Readers, along with the saint, were encouraged to empathize with those at the margins rather than those in power. Martin's initial reaction in this *vita* to the beggar he met on a harsh winter day was simply pity, but it immediately became something more, as he shared his cloak with the shivering beggar and then, like him, shared in the scorn of the well-to-do passing by. The necessity of empathizing with and indeed sharing the experiences of a poor beggar were underlined when that beggar was revealed to be Christ.

Martin as depicted by Sulpicius Severus had been in the military before this revelation led him to adopt the religious life, and he carried the belligerence of his earlier life with him. He quarrelled constantly with the authorities, both ecclesiastical and civil, so that his biographer said that he was 'surrounded by clerics who disagreed with him and by hostile bishops' who criticized him for looking more like a crazed vagrant than the holder of an important religious office.<sup>5</sup> He was later

<sup>3</sup> Van Dam, 'Images of Saint Martin', and Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, pp. 13–28. The following discussion owes much to Van Dam. See also Fontaine, 'Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévère à Venance Fortunat'.

<sup>4</sup> For the ways that Martin was conceptualized in the high Middle Ages, see Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*.

<sup>5</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Opera*, ed. by Halm. See, for example, his *Dialogus*, 1. 24 (Sulpicius

considered the founder of monasticism in Gaul; whatever he would have made of this title, his contemporaries had no frame of reference for a life of self-denial which derived ultimately from the Egyptian desert fathers and had no analogies in Gaul. But his biographer stressed that his rejection of conventional episcopal behaviour was what made him holy. Readers of his *vita*, written when Roman governors still ruled Gaul, were invited to identify themselves not with those in power but with those who questioned authority and were spurned for doing so.

This portrait of a strange and quarrelsome outsider had begun to change by the time that Paulinus of Périgueux (r. 458–80) wrote a new account of Martin two or three generations later, in the middle decades of the fifth century. Here all the emphasis was on Martin as a miracle worker during his lifetime, whose spiritual power was shown by his ability to heal physical ailments — better than either doctors or any other miracle workers. As Giselle de Nie demonstrates in her essay in this volume, the reader was expected to empathize with the suffering of those whom Martin miraculously healed. His military career was radically downplayed in this *vita*. The hostility between Martin and both civil and religious authorities markedly dwindled, as Paulinus's Martin principally acted with compassion towards those around him rather than defying social expectations. In this version, almost everyone recognized and venerated Martin's episcopal authority and sanctity — even, eventually, obstreperous lay rulers.<sup>6</sup> The major addition to this picture which Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–c. 600/09) made a century later was to turn Martin, a non-aristocratic soldier in his first *vita*, into a virtual aristocrat, a *senator* in heaven.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, when Gregory of Tours (c. 540–94) wrote about Martin — bishop of the same see that Gregory now held — at the end of the sixth century, one of the most significant aspects of his version of the saint was his association with relics. Gregory's Martin was the recipient of relics from Milan, relics of the same saints that St Ambrose had first incorporated into a Christian church. Many of the places around contemporary Tours had virtual relics of Martin himself, from a

Severus, *Opera*, ed. by Halm, p. 177); and *Vita sancti Martini*, ix (Sulpicius Severus, *Opera*, ed. by Halm, p. 119). The modern discussion of Martin by Elie Griffé is essentially a retelling of Sulpicius Severus's account; Griffé, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, I, 271–98.

<sup>6</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux, *Opera*, ed. by Petschenig, pp. 1–190. See, for example, his *De vita sancti Martini*, I. 274–84; III. 19–25; IV. 345–46 (Paulinus of Périgueux, *Opera*, ed. by Petschenig, pp. 30, 63, 95).

<sup>7</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. by Quesnel, II. 457; III. 52; III. 522 (IV, 48, 53, 72). Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender*, pp. 46–50. For Fortunatus, see also Jones, Martindale, and Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, III, 491–92.

stone on which he sat or a balustrade on which he leaned to a fallen tree he made stand upright again to grapevines that he planted.<sup>8</sup> Gregory's St Martin, therefore, was a constant living presence at Tours, fully integrated into the stories of tombs and relics that Gregory took for granted. He was first and foremost a bishop, the highly respected centre of a thoroughly Christian community, the kind of bishop with whom Gregory could empathize and which he sought to be himself.

### *Germanus of Auxerre*

Just as Martin's *vita* evolved through a succession of versions after its original composition around the year 400, so did saints' lives first written in subsequent generations. The first local saint of the city of Auxerre was Bishop Germanus (c. 378–448).<sup>9</sup> His initial *vita* was written by Constantius of Lyon (fl. 480) within a generation or so of his death.<sup>10</sup> In this first 'life', as in the roughly contemporary life of Martin by Paulinus of Périgueux, the holy man is an ascetic living in a Late Roman world, and his holiness is recognized and attested by miracles, in which he heals chronic illnesses and casts out demons. As in Paulinus's account, the reader is encouraged to empathize with the suffering of those aided by the saint. Two trips to Britain, where Germanus successfully preaches against the Pelagian heresy, demonstrate his orthodoxy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. by Krusch, XLVI (pp. 69–70); Gregory of Tours, *Historia*, ed. by Krusch, x. 31. 5 (p. 529); Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, ed. by Krusch, v, VI, VII, x (pp. 302–04).

<sup>9</sup> Jones, Martindale, and Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 504–05. The series of *vitae* and revisions of *vitae* devoted to Germanus between the Merovingian era and the Carolingian was unusually rich. See the analysis in Bouchard, 'Episcopal *Gesta* and the Creation of a Useful Past', pp. 15–25.

<sup>10</sup> Constantius of Lyon, *Vie de saint Germain*, ed. by Borius. An earlier edition is Constantius of Lyon, *Vita Germani episcopi Autissiodorensis*, ed. by Levison. This *vita* is dated by cover letters addressed to Bishops Patientius of Lyon and Censurius of Auxerre. For Constantius and his work, see Bardy, 'Constance de Lyon, biographe de Saint Germain d'Auxerre'; Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain*; Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, II, 289–97; and, most recently, van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, trans. by van der Hoek, pp. 25–36. Probably the first mention of Germanus in a chronicle is that of the *Chronicle of 452*, which mentions in its entry for 433 that he was Bishop of Auxerre and outstanding for his virtues; Burgess, 'The Gallic Chronicle of 452', p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> Germanus's first trip to Britain is also recorded by Prosper of Aquitaine, who wrote his *Epitoma chronicon* a few years before Constantius of Lyon wrote his *vita* of the saint (Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epitoma chronicon*, ed. by Mommsen, p. 472).

At Auxerre, this *vita* was soon modified. The version that came to dominate there is what has been called the ‘interpolated’ version because it includes extra material, including information on other regional saints.<sup>12</sup> Ever since it was demonstrated at the beginning of the twentieth century that there are two major versions of Germanus’s *vita*, each with its own manuscript traditions,<sup>13</sup> scholars have tended to ignore the ‘interpolated’ version as less close to what Constantius originally wrote. It is generally assigned, without discussion, to the late eighth or the early ninth century.<sup>14</sup>

It seems most likely, however, that the ‘interpolated’ version was from the sixth century. The Roman provincial governors and tax collectors who populate the ‘interpolations’ look much more like the work of a sixth-century author than of one from the Carolingian era. The differences between the ‘original’ and ‘interpolated’ versions of this *vita* are not so great that one need assign the latter to a period three centuries after the former. The ‘interpolated’ version seems to show a sixth-century author labouring diligently to create a version of the saint’s life which presents a saint with whom his contemporaries would identify. The major differences are the expansion of the early part of the *vita* to establish the connections between Germanus and Amator, his predecessor as bishop; a discussion of the Roman provincial governor’s recognition of Germanus’s merit; the insertion of the *vita* of St Mamertinus, whom Germanus converted; a pilgrimage to the church of St-Julien of Brioude; and the inclusion of St Genovefa, whom Germanus met on his trips through Paris.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, vii July, pp. 211–31. Also ‘Vita S. Germani Autissiodorensis episcopi’, ed. by Duru. Duru spells out the differences in the two versions on pp. 90–91, although he assumes that the ‘interpolated’ version was the earlier and that the version now considered that of Constantius was no more than an *analyse*. All printed versions of the ‘interpolated’ version derive ultimately from a sixteenth-century edition; see the Introduction by Borius to his edition, Constantius of Lyon, *Vie de saint Germain*, ed. by Borius, pp. 9–10. The most extended discussion of this version is by van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, trans. by van der Hoek, pp. 107–27. Although he believes, as do I, that all the material that this version added to Constantius’s version dates from the sixth century, he still gives the text a seventh-century date.

<sup>13</sup> Levison, ‘Bischof Germanus von Auxerre’, pp. 104–06, 112–13.

<sup>14</sup> This is the dating given by Borius in his Introduction to Constantius of Lyon, *Vie de saint Germain*, ed. by Borius, p. 49. The reason has been the connection between the *vitae* of Genovefa and of Germanus, for her *vita* was once mistakenly assigned to the eighth or ninth century; Levison, ‘Bischof Germanus von Auxerre’, pp. 102–03. See also van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, trans. by van der Hoek, p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> A convenient chart showing where the ‘interpolated’ version added new material is provided by van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, trans. by van der Hoek, pp. 110–11.

Because of the considerable overlap between this ‘interpolated’ life and that of Bishop Amator, written by Stephen Africanus at the end of the sixth century, it seems probable that this new version was written at the same time, possibly by Stephen himself. Indeed, he revealed in a dedicatory letter at the beginning of his *vita* of Amator that he had been asked to rewrite the *vita* of Germanus in verse.<sup>16</sup> Although his metrical *vita* of this saint does not survive (if he ever wrote it), someone who had agreed to one sort of rewrite of the life of Germanus might well have done the less difficult reworking that went into the ‘interpolated’ life, perhaps in preparation for a planned version in verse.

The ‘interpolated’ life does not leave out anything found in Constantius’s *vita*, so there was no effort to reject anything in that version of the saint’s story. Even the two trips of Germanus to Britain to combat the Pelagians — once accompanied by Bishop Lupus of Troyes, once by Bishop Severus of Trier<sup>17</sup> — remain intact in the sixth-century version of the saint’s *vita*, although a British heresy would have long become irrelevant in an island taken over by pagan Anglo-Saxons. Rather, Stephen Africanus (or whoever wrote the ‘interpolated’ life) fashioned his interpolations with the objective of making his Germanus thoroughly a man of Auxerre, someone with whom his sixth-century audience could readily identify — just as Gregory of Tours, writing at the same time, made his Martin thoroughly a man of Tours.

In writing the initial *vita* of Germanus, Constantius had been much less interested in Auxerre; indeed, he seems to have written his *vita* for the Bishop of Lyon. He had him born in Auxerre but spending his young manhood in Rome, even marrying a Roman bride — who, however, quickly disappears from the story — before being abruptly called home to take up the office of bishop.<sup>18</sup> Stephen, in contrast, has Germanus take up the secular governorship of Auxerre before becoming bishop of the city. Julius, the *praetor* at Autun, recognizes that young Germanus is both a good administrator and a pious man and agrees that he should succeed Bishop Amator. With Julius’s approval, Germanus is then elected by clerics, nobles, the urban populace, and the *rustici* of the pagus. Germanus in this version makes a pilgrimage to St-Julien of Brioude, a house also honoured by Gregory of Tours; Gregory wrote a long *vita* of Julien and mentioned pilgrimages to the saint’s tomb.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Stephen Africanus, *Vita S. Amatoris Autissiodorensis episcopi*, ed. by Duru, p. 134.

<sup>17</sup> See also *Vita Lupi episcopi Trecensis*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, 4, 11 (pp. 297, 302). According to this *vita*, Lupus ordained Severus.

<sup>18</sup> Constantius of Lyon, *Vie de saint Germain*, ed. by Borius, I, 1–2 (pp. 122–24).

<sup>19</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus S. Iuliani*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 112–34. See also Gregory of Tours, *Historia*, ed. by Krusch, II, 11 (p. 61).

In the 'interpolated' version of his life, Germanus also converts Mamertinus, who would become another local saint, and interacts with other regional saints as well, especially Genovefa — whom he met twice in this version, although she is absent from Constantius's account.<sup>20</sup>

Constantius would have had no reason to include Genovefa, a rather troubling woman who was still alive when he wrote his own fifth-century version of the *vita* of Germanus. Stephen, writing a century later, doubtless drew the detail that the two saints met from the *vita* of Genovefa. Her own *vita* had been written about two generations after Constantius's account of Germanus, which her hagiographer had doubtless read. This author was able to increase the merit of Genovefa by having it recognized by the (to him) unimpeachable wisdom and sanctity of Germanus, even though the saints' meeting occurred when Genovefa was still a little girl.<sup>21</sup> In turn, Stephen, another two generations later, found that the association with the holy virgin who had been honoured by Clovis and his wife — both were buried next to her — gave extra validity to Germanus. Thus, the sixth-century creation of the 'interpolated' life was not so much a turning away from anything in the fifth-century *vita* as an effort to ensure that the entire story of Germanus, including his local context and his associations with Amator and Genovefa, be remembered together.

The churches of Auxerre in the following centuries kept and copied both versions of the *vita* of Germanus, Constantius's and the sixth-century 'interpolated' version. Both were known at Auxerre in the ninth century. Constantius's version was copied there in the first decades of the century, along with the *vitae* of other saints of the Auxerrois, including Germanus's predecessor Amator.<sup>22</sup> But the ninth-century canons of Auxerre also certainly had the 'interpolated' version before them, with its discussion of the *praetor* Julius of Autun and of Germanus's meetings with Genovefa. These details made their way in the 870s both into the *Gesta* of the bishops of Auxerre, composed then, and into the contemporary metrical account of the life of Germanus, written by Heiric of St-Germain of Auxerre.<sup>23</sup> The memory that the ninth-century authors at Auxerre wanted to

<sup>20</sup> For the meetings with Genovefa, see the edition of the 'interpolated' life in 'Vita S. Germani Autissiodorensis episcopi', ed. by Duru, pp. 68, 78–79.

<sup>21</sup> *Vita Genovefae virginis Parisiensis*, ed. by Krusch, 2–6 (pp. 215–17).

<sup>22</sup> Montpellier, Bibl. Fac. de Médecine, MS 154. For a description of this manuscript, see Bouchard, 'Episcopal *Gesta* and the Creation of a Useful Past', p. 21 n. 92.

<sup>23</sup> *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, ed. by Lobrichon and others, I, 29–49. Heiric of Auxerre, *Vita sancti Germani Autissiodorensis*, ed. by Traube, pp. 428–517. See also Bouchard, 'Episcopal *Gesta* and the Creation of a Useful Past', pp. 22–24.

preserve and transmit was the fullest possible memory, and for them a *vita* written three centuries earlier, in the sixth century, would have had an antiquity and validity essentially indistinguishable from that of a fifth-century *vita*.

The vision of Germanus, therefore, kept evolving from its original fifth-century composition until at least the ninth century. He was re-remembered not to reject any part of what Constantius of Lyon had originally said about him, but rather to make him less of a generalized holy man and more specifically the patron saint of Auxerre, a man with whom later bishops were expected to empathize. But, as already suggested, the reworkings also connected him to one of his more intriguing contemporaries, Saint Genovefa, whose image also evolved to meet changing expectations of the Church.

### *Genovefa of Paris*

The *vita* of Genovefa (c. 422–500) is the first major ‘life’ of a woman saint from Gaul, and thus balances the male virtues in the *vitae* of Martin and Germanus, from which it clearly drew. Genovefa’s original *vita* was written, according to its own testimony, around 520, some two decades after her death, and thus stands at the midpoint between the earliest *vita* of Germanus and the rewritten, interpolated version, which, as noted above, bears evidence of having been written by someone who had read Genovefa’s *vita*.<sup>24</sup>

Scholars once mistakenly dated Genovefa’s ‘life’ to the Carolingian period. Although it is certainly true that her hagiographer had some trouble with details and dates in describing the saint’s girlhood, this is not surprising, given that he wrote a good century after these events in the early life of this very long-lived saint. The freedom with which Genovefa wandered around Merovingian Gaul bears none of the hallmarks of the Carolingian era, when sanctified women were supposed to be veiled nuns. Indeed, Genovefa had no nunnery she could have joined, because the first such institutionalized house for women in Gaul was only established by Caesarius of Arles, several years after Genovefa’s death.<sup>25</sup> The dif-

<sup>24</sup> *Vita Genovefae virginis Parisiensis*, ed. by Krusch, 53 (pp. 236–37). The argument for a date in the first quarter of the sixth century is made exhaustively by Heinzelmann and Poulin, *Les Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève*, pp. 3–111. For the relationship between Genovefa’s *vita* and the ‘interpolated’ *vita* of Germanus, see also van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, trans. by van der Hoek, pp. 112–15.

<sup>25</sup> Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 104–10.

difficulties some scholars have had, in reconciling the meetings of Genovefa and Germanus with the latter's two trips to Britain,<sup>26</sup> cease to be difficulties if one does not date his death to the 430s, as these scholars assume, but rather to the late 440s, as argued most recently by the editors of the *Gesta* of the bishops of Auxerre.<sup>27</sup>

Genovefa's *vita* provides an unusual insight into the operation of holiness in the early sixth century. Like Martin in the *vita* by Sulpicius Severus, she is remembered by her biographer as a disconcerting figure who does not conform to society's expectations. When she rallies the women of Paris to use the power of their prayers against the Huns, she is feared as a false prophetess and nearly stoned, although she ultimately triumphs. Out of compassion, she routinely frees prisoners the king planned to put to death. This consecrated virgin alternates between shutting herself up for solitary prayer (and blinding — apparently unintentionally — any who disturb these prayers) and setting off on audacious expeditions, such as ranging along the Seine to obtain grain for Paris during a famine. It would have been difficult for the comfortably established clerics of the sixth century to feel empathy for someone like this, yet her biographer indicates that here, rather than in conventionality, lay holiness. Thus Genovefa retains some of the unpredictable nature that male monks had exhibited earlier.

As portrayed in her *vita*, Genovefa shows suitable respect for previous saints, but she moves through a world with very few significant churches. Martin of Tours, Anianus of Orléans, Lupus of Troyes, and of course Germanus of Auxerre are mentioned with reverence, but her frequent boat trips up and down the Loire and the Seine take her to no other basilicas than those dedicated to Martin and Anianus.<sup>28</sup> Her decision to build a basilica in honour of St Denis is presented as an ambitious undertaking, requiring miracles both of carpentry and of lime kilns.<sup>29</sup>

Strikingly, no bones or other relics appear in the description of this basilica, even though the hagiographer said that it was built in the village where the mar-

<sup>26</sup> Wood, 'Forgery in Merovingian Hagiography', pp. 376–79.

<sup>27</sup> *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, ed. by Lobrichon and others, I, 44, n. 63. See also Heinzlmann and Poulin, *Les Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève*, p. 89. Determining Germanus's exact dates has generated much scholarly discussion. See, for example, Scharf, 'Germanus von Auxerre'; he argues that the chronology makes better sense if one does not assume that the events in Germanus's life took place in just the same order as they are described in Constantius's *vita*.

<sup>28</sup> See also Heinzlmann and Poulin, *Les Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève*, pp. 141–43.

<sup>29</sup> *Vita Genovefae virginis Parisiensis*, ed. by Krusch, 18–21 (pp. 222–24).

tyr Denis was buried. It was constructed in his honour, but not as a place for relic veneration. In this story, relics — even Genovefa's own bones — do not cure the sick, cast out demons, or raise the dead; rather, she does so herself, especially while still alive although also after her death, simply responding to petitions without the intervention of relics.

The *vita* of Genovefa also indicates clearly the beginning of the involvement of the Merovingian kings in the basilicas and monasteries of the Frankish kingdoms. When Genovefa was middle-aged she met and impressed King Childeric, whom the hagiographer describes as a 'gentile'.<sup>30</sup> This unselfconscious — and correct — characterization of Clovis's still-pagan father is further evidence of the author as someone at home in the world of the early sixth century, before Clovis's conversion had become the beginning of a glorious story. Clovis did, however, grow to love the holy virgin after he himself was baptized, according to the hagiographer, and he undertook the construction of a basilica in her honour after her death, which his queen later completed. Indeed, both Clovis and Clotildis chose to be buried in this basilica, alongside Genovefa.<sup>31</sup>

Like Germanus, Genovefa had her life rewritten in the late sixth century, but while Germanus's *vita* was made much longer, hers was made much shorter. When Gregory of Tours wrote about her some three generations after the first hagiographer, he downplayed the activities of a rather headstrong and independent woman in favour of an emphasis on her connection to the Merovingian kings, who were central to the *Historia* Gregory also wrote. He stressed that she answered petitions for healing from the tomb, indicating the changing perception of the holy dead during the sixth century.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, scholars have been struck by the differences between Gregory's brief mentions of Genovefa and her detailed *vita*,<sup>33</sup> which differences confirm that Gregory was writing after a transition to a view of the holy that emphasized post-mortem miracles. Gregory wanted his audience to empathize with a saint who was part of an orderly, well-governed Church, where saints acted through their relics, preserved in well-run churches, and churches looked to the protection of the Merovingian kings.

<sup>30</sup> *Vita Genovefae virginis Parisiensis*, ed. by Krusch, 26 (p. 226). See also Heinzlmann and Poulin, *Les Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève*, pp. 97–98.

<sup>31</sup> *Vita Genovefae virginis Parisiensis*, ed. by Krusch, 56 (pp. 237–38). Gregory of Tours, *Historia*, ed. by Krusch, IV. 1 (p. 135).

<sup>32</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, ed. by Krusch, LXXXIX (p. 355).

<sup>33</sup> Heinzlmann and Poulin, *Les Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève*, pp. 132–33.

## *Caesarius of Arles*

Merovingian-era saints could have their *vitae* rewritten even without a long passage of time. Caesarius, scholar and preacher, monk and Bishop of Arles (468/70–542), is best known now as someone who reworked Augustine's sermons for a Provençal audience at the beginning of the sixth century and who chided his flock for continuing such pagan practices as celebrating January 1, even though they had long considered themselves Christians.<sup>34</sup> Even during his own lifetime he was considered a saint, but there seems to have been some disagreement about his principal saintly aspects. He was remembered quite differently in the two separate versions of his *vita*, one written from an episcopal viewpoint, the other by clerics who had served under him.<sup>35</sup> Both were composed within less than a decade of his death in the 540s, and in their present format, as Books I and II of his *vita*, they seek to suggest a unified whole.<sup>36</sup> Yet the differences between the two books indicate that, even though the various authors of the two books were willing to accept each other's versions, they wrote for very different purposes and audiences. In both cases, the authors expected the audience to feel empathy for the saint, but for different reasons.

The first book was written by the Saint and Bishop Cyprian of Toulon (476–546), assisted by two other bishops, while the second was written by the clerics Messianus and Stephen, who said that they had known Caesarius since their youth. Cyprian and his episcopal co-authors recounted the kind of *vita* which was becoming standard in the sixth century, beginning with the saint's birth, family connections, and youthful decision to enter the church at Chalon-sur-Saône, and continuing with his deeds at the monastery of Lérins and as Bishop of Arles. At the end, the bishops announce that they are handing over the story to Messianus and Stephen. The latter, insisting that everything that they are about to say is true, primarily recount a series of healing miracles that Caesarius performed during his lifetime. At the end, they describe the saint's death and burial, which had not appeared in Book I, suggesting that, in spite of the differences in the two halves, they were always intended to be read together.

Cyprian's Caesarius is first of all an ascetic. Like Bishops Germanus and Martin (at least in the latter's third and subsequent *vitae*), he was nobly born but demonstrated his holiness through radical rejection of the comforts and pleas-

<sup>34</sup> Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 150–53. Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society*, pp. 648–54.

<sup>35</sup> Both printed in Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 293–345.

<sup>36</sup> Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, pp. 1–5.

ures of aristocratic life. Thus, as a young man, he first slipped secretly away from his family's estate in order that the Bishop of Chalon could ordain him without his parents' knowledge;<sup>37</sup> he then decided that, in order to follow divine promptings more fully, he needed to become a monk. The simplicity of his life is demonstrated by his taking only a single slave with him as he set out on the five-hundred-kilometre journey to Lérins, dodging the search party sent out by his parents.<sup>38</sup>

While Cyprian and his co-authors certainly admired asceticism and rejection of family privilege, they considered these less a goal in themselves than a marker of the pious nature that qualified a man to be a bishop. Indeed, they suggest that Caesarius was a better man once he backed away from ascetic extremes. His 'excesses' of fasting and vigils eventually 'broke his weak young body, which should more properly have been coddled rather than debilitated'.<sup>39</sup> When in Arles for a rest cure from the strict life he followed at Lérins, he caught the Bishop's eye and was invited to join the cathedral as a cleric. Although the authors assert that 'he remained a monk in humility, charity, obedience, and asceticism',<sup>40</sup> it is clear that he had scaled back his mortification of the flesh, for no more rest cures became necessary. Here is a saint with whom readers could be expected not only to empathize but whom they could realistically imitate. Unsurprisingly, within a few years Caesarius was ordained Bishop of Arles.<sup>41</sup>

Most of the rest of Book I is an account of Caesarius as an active administrator in Arles, preaching, trying to improve the liturgy in the cathedral, berating lay people who grow bored and try to slip out of church before the sermon is over, teaching such thwarted truants the psalms so they can join in the singing, even playing a leading role in defending his city against the Visigoths — although, despite his pastoral concern, the people of Arles once briefly and mistakenly imprison him as a traitor.<sup>42</sup> Because the Visigoths were Arians, Caesarius combined good Christian leadership with secular leadership in resisting them. He freely spent his church's treasure in redeeming captives taken by the Visigoths.<sup>43</sup> The Bishop's

<sup>37</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 4 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 298).

<sup>38</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 5 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 298).

<sup>39</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 6 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 299).

<sup>40</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 11 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 300).

<sup>41</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 14 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 301). It may, however, have been a contested election; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 84–87.

<sup>42</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 27, 19, 29 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 306, 303, 307).

<sup>43</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 32 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 308).

most long-lasting contribution, however, was establishing the nunnery over which first his sister and then his niece presided;<sup>44</sup> clearly family continued to be crucial in spite of his early flight from his parents' influence. Thus Cyprian's Caesarius, who began his saintly career as an ascetic, was considered admirable chiefly because he was an exemplary — that is, imitable — bishop, one who fulfilled the functions of his office with energy and dedication. Both the episcopal authors and their intended audience could identify with such a man.

In contrast, Messianus and Stephen primarily portray a miracle worker in their Book II. Indeed, the later common pattern of having one book of a saint's 'life' concentrate on the life itself, the second on (primarily post-mortem) miracles, may have begun with Caesarius's *vita*. Cyprian's Caesarius had also performed miracles, but these were of secondary interest to his administrative abilities; for example, his first response to sick people was not to heal them but rather to provide a hospice for them, from which they could overhear the singing in the cathedral.<sup>45</sup>

As Messianus and Stephen portrayed him, the saint scarcely worried about the functioning of his diocese, except for curing sick people and casting out demons. They also do not show Caesarius as living like a monk, for they unselfconsciously speak of his authority, his large grain barns, the good meals served him, even his expectation that his nightclothes be warmed at the fire before he put them on.<sup>46</sup> His humility is demonstrated not in fasts, vigils, or other exercises that would weaken the flesh, but rather in his unwillingness to let his miracle-working powers be widely recognized.<sup>47</sup>

The miracles, for Messianus and Stephen, make Caesarius unequivocally like Christ. One of their clearest examples is of a woman who, explicitly stated to be like the woman in the Bible (Matthew 9. 20–22), was cured of a flow of blood by touching the holy man's clothing.<sup>48</sup> The story is drawn out with tension and

<sup>44</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 28, 35 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 306, 309–10). See also Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 104, 117–24; and Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 162–75.

<sup>45</sup> Cyprian, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I. 20 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 303–04).

<sup>46</sup> Messianus and Stephen, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, II. 8, 14, 31 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 327, 330, 338).

<sup>47</sup> Messianus and Stephen, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, II. 5 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 325–26).

<sup>48</sup> Messianus and Stephen, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, II. 13–15 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*,

much detail, inviting an empathic response from the audience, as Stephen himself quietly tries to slip a piece of clothing out of the saint's cell to help the sick woman and is discovered by Caesarius. The audience here identifies with both Stephen and the woman. She, of course, is eventually healed, and thus the incident also becomes an opportunity for empathy with the saintly Bishop, as the authors comment that those with faith in Christ will continue to be able to produce great works like his.

Caesarius's miracles continued after his death. In this *vita*, unlike the *vita* of Genovefa written two generations earlier, relics played a prominent role in miraculous cures. Messianus and Stephen relate that the water in which the saint's body was washed upon his death, as well as the linen used to wipe the body dry, immediately began to effect cures, healing various kinds of fever.<sup>49</sup> There is no indication that parts of the dead body were treated as relics, however, only water and cloth that had been in contact with it. The second book of the *vita*, then, is somewhat transitional, halfway between the fifth-century saints who worked miracles during their life and, to a lesser extent, when appealed to after death, and the late sixth-century description of sanctity by Gregory of Tours, who put his emphasis on physical relics and on a saint's power from beyond the tomb.

### *Radegund of Poitiers*

Like Caesarius, Radegund of Poitiers (518–87) had two quite different *vitae* written close together in time. Her 'life' was composed twice within not much more than a generation — or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that a Part I shortly had a Part II added to it.<sup>50</sup> The two accounts give quite different versions of the life of the saint in spite of the chronological closeness of their composition, suggesting that there was no single model to which saints were expected to adhere at any given time, and that some of the differences when Merovingian-era *vitae* were rewritten should be considered specific to the authors, not necessarily reflective of the period in general.

Radegund lived about three generations after Genovefa, and she established an organized life for chaste women such as had not been accessible to the earlier

ed. by Morin, II, 329–31).

<sup>49</sup> Messianus and Stephen, *Vita sancti Caesarii*, II, 39–42 (Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 341–42).

<sup>50</sup> Fontaine, 'Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévère à Venance Fortunat', pp. 114–15. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich*, pp. 484–85.

female saint. Radegund was the daughter of the King of Thuringia, brought as a child captive to the court of King Clothar in 531 after the Franks conquered her kingdom, and made Clothar's queen when she grew up. She had a long and active career, including leaving her husband to found a nunnery at Poitiers — one of the first nunneries anywhere in Gaul north of the Mediterranean — and obtaining a piece of the True Cross from Byzantium, in spite of opposition from her diocesan bishop.<sup>51</sup> Not long after her death (587), her first *vita* was written by Venantius Fortunatus, who had known her personally. Many of the events of her life are also recounted summarily by the contemporary Gregory of Tours. No more than a generation later, a second *vita* was written by Baudonivia (fl. 600), a nun at Radegund's own house of Sainte-Croix.<sup>52</sup>

Fortunatus's Radegund is an ascetic, who glories in ministering to lepers and the poor, for whom she feels great empathy. Even while Queen, she determinedly starves herself and gives her food away, to the point where King Clothar is reported to have said, 'My wife is more like a nun (*monacha*) than a queen.'<sup>53</sup> When Clothar had her brother killed, she took this as an excuse to leave her husband, the King, stripping off her jewels and finery and giving them to the Church, and proceeding on a pilgrimage across Gaul, ministering on the way to lepers and others with disgusting infections. Her exercises in self-mortification were remarkable, including long fasts, a hair shirt that rubbed her raw, and self-inflicted branding with the sign of the cross. Indeed, Fortunatus put more emphasis on this woman's mortification of the flesh than he did in any of the accounts he wrote of male saints, and he did so in a way to make the reader suffer along with her. These exercises, he makes explicit, turned Radegund into a virtual martyr, the kind of martyr she had said as a little girl that she wanted to be, even though her martyrdom was self-imposed.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Jones, Martindale, and Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, III, 1072–74. Radegund has been experiencing a recent surge of scholarly interest; see George, *Venantius Fortunatus*, pp. 30, 161–77; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 136–39; Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, pp. 126–35; Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender*, pp. 115–24, 134–53; Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, pp. 108–10; and Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 228–31.

<sup>52</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita sanctae Radegundis regina*, pp. 364–77. Gregory of Tours, *Historia*, ed. by Krusch, III. 7, ix. 40 (pp. 105, 464). Baudonivia, *Vita sanctae Radegundis regina*, ed. by Krusch.

<sup>53</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita sanctae Radegundis regina*, 5 (p. 367). See also Réal, *Vies de saints, vie de famille*, pp. 372–73.

<sup>54</sup> Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender*, pp. 116–21.

The physical suffering that Radegund embraced was for Fortunatus a sign of her holiness, which was also attested by miracles. Like Genovefa, she regularly cured the sick and demon-possessed, generally by washing the afflicted with her own hands and making the sign of the cross over them. In none of these healings did she resort to the bones of earlier saints; her biographer would not have wanted to diminish her spiritual authority, even though he certainly recognized that association with earlier saints of Gaul could strengthen her sanctity. Both her self-discipline and her miracles were compared to those of Germanus of Auxerre and Martin of Tours, but he never mentioned Genovefa.

Among his descriptions of miracles and privations, Fortunatus does mention the nuns who came under Radegund's direction, but he is completely indifferent in the *vita* to the establishment and functioning of the religious house at Poitiers. At most, he mentions a detail of the nunnery life in passing, as in noting that Radegund carried in more firewood than any other sister when it was her turn for that task. He does not include Agnes, the first abbess of the nunnery, in his *vita* of Radegund, even though he wrote poems about Agnes in a different context; nor does he even mention the piece of the True Cross that Radegund obtained from the emperor, in spite of having written a poem that was part of the dossier she sent in request to Byzantium.<sup>55</sup> For him, the saint deserved to be commemorated in her own right once she had left an earthly for a heavenly spouse, without reference to mundane details like founding a nunnery, or even such alternative sources of holiness as the True Cross.

In contrast, the nun Baudonivia, not surprisingly, put the nunnery of Sainte-Croix at the centre of her account. She was careful not to appear to be rejecting the first *vita* of the saint, and instead said in her Prologue that she intended simply to make some additions, by writing what she called a 'second book'.<sup>56</sup> Whereas Fortunatus had emphasized the assistance Radegund received from the Bishop of Noyon, Baudonivia stressed instead that from the Bishop of Paris; both were later considered saints, as was Radegund. In Baudonivia's version, there is no murder of Radegund's brother to inspire the Queen's decision to leave her husband, and Clothar, in spite of regrets and some deplorable changes of heart, supports her decision to the point of helping her build the *monasterium*.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, Clothar's

<sup>55</sup> George, *Venantius Fortunatus*, pp. 62–64. Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera poetica*, ed. by Leo, pp. 178–80, no. 81.

<sup>56</sup> Baudonivia, *Vita sanctae Radegundis regina*, ed. by Krusch, I (p. 377). See also Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender*, pp. 134–35. He argues against the assumption that the differences between Radegund's two *vitae* are essentially the differences between a male and a female author.

<sup>57</sup> Baudonivia, *Vita sanctae Radegundis regina*, ed. by Krusch, III–V (pp. 380–81).

son and successor Sigibert (Radegund's step-son) plays a major role in helping her obtain a piece of the True Cross from Constantinople.<sup>58</sup> In this account, Radegund had already obtained numerous relics of numerous saints before seeking a piece of the Cross, which was treated as another relic, although more important than any others.

Baudonivia discusses here, as did Gregory of Tours, the undignified squabbling between the nunnery and the Bishop of Poitiers, who refused to install the piece of the Cross for reasons not entirely clear — although most likely he felt his authority being threatened — so that Radegund had to turn instead to the Bishop of Tours. Venantius Fortunatus, himself Bishop of Poitiers, may not have wanted to malign his immediate predecessor, which would explain why he did not mention at all this most holy relic's arrival in Poitiers in a context that might recall bad episcopal-abbatial relations. By the time that Baudonivia wrote, however, the situation was far enough in the past that she could refer to it.

Yet Baudonivia did not mention, any more than had Fortunatus, the nuns' revolt that broke out at Sainte-Croix not long after Radegund's death. In fact, an effort to put this riot in perspective may have been one of the reasons that Baudonivia wrote — without, however, actually stating that there had been any troubles. Her idealized image of a well-ordered nunnery, receiving miracle-working relics, was intended to replace the recent spectacle of a nunnery in chaos, and certainly she did not want her *vita* to suggest that Radegund had been a lax abbess.<sup>59</sup> Because it is not known for certain when Fortunatus wrote his *vita*, it is possible that he himself did not mention this revolt because it had not yet happened, but if so, he must have written on the virtual eve.

The events of the revolt *are* known from Gregory of Tours, who was both an eyewitness and a participant. Not long after the deaths of Radegund and of Agnes, her hand-picked abbess at Sainte-Croix, forty of the nuns decided to leave the nunnery, complaining that the life there was too harsh. Clotildis, their leader and apparently a Merovingian princess, told Gregory that they should not have to put up with this kind of rigour. His production of the episcopal letter confirming the foundation of the nunnery, with its explicit statement that the nuns could not leave, had no effect on Clotildis, who said that they would appeal to the royal court. The King, however, did not support the rebels, and the bishops excommunicated them. Many sought refuge in the Church of Saint-

<sup>58</sup> For the arrival of the piece of the Cross at Poitiers and its miracles, see also Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. by Krusch, v (pp. 39–41).

<sup>59</sup> See also Fontaine, 'Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévère à Venance Fortunat', pp. 137–38.

Hilaire of Poitiers, accompanied, according to Gregory, by all sorts of criminals who attacked the bishops of the region when they tried to reason with the renegade nuns. The rebellion finally petered out when the rebel nuns married, wandered away, or returned to the houses where they had lived before coming to Poitiers.<sup>60</sup>

If, as seems most likely, Venantius Fortunatus wrote shortly after the resolution of the revolt, one can better understand his creation of a *vita* that stressed throughout both Radegund's asceticism and the holiness of that asceticism. He would have been signalling that the virtues of the Queen who had founded the nunnery in the first place were virtues that the princesses of his day would do well to emulate. For him, the readers needed to model themselves on Radegund, not those who clung to their wealth and privilege. Baudonivia, though less detailed on the saint's privations, also describes her as making herself 'a poor person for God' and urging the sisters to do the same.<sup>61</sup> Both of these *vitae* attempted to shift the way that Radegund's nunnery was remembered, from a house where spoiled, wealthy women turned to violence if they could not live a comfortable life, to a house founded and long presided over by a woman who had voluntarily given up all her wealth and glory for the love of Christ, and whose holiness was attested by miracles.

For that matter, Gregory of Tours also put Radegund into his 'Glory of the Confessors', in what might almost be considered still another *vita* of the Queen and saint, and here he mentioned not a word about any difficulties at Sainte-Croix, either the tensions with the Bishop of Poitiers who had not been happy when a piece of the True Cross arrived at the nunnery or the subsequent nuns' revolt. Considering that Gregory's *Historia* is the principal source of information on these difficulties, the omission must have been deliberate. His purpose here was to celebrate Radegund's *gloria* as a saint, not to speak of distressing tensions either during her life or after her death. Instead, Gregory discussed with deep empathy the inconsolable sorrow of the nuns who had lost a veritable mother, sorrow he saw firsthand because he presided at her funeral. The Bishop of Poitiers, he said obliquely in this work, was busy visiting parishes at the time, which was why the Bishop of Tours had to preside.<sup>62</sup> In this version, troubles and tensions disappear in the face of the mourning that accompanied the saintly Queen's death.

<sup>60</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historia*, ed. by Krusch, ix. 39–43 (pp. 460–75).

<sup>61</sup> Baudonivia, *Vita sanctae Radegundis regina*, ed. by Krusch, viii (pp. 382–83).

<sup>62</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, ed. by Krusch, civ (pp. 364–66).

In all five of these cases — Martin, Germanus, Genovefa, Caesarius, and Rade-gund — the saints did not stop changing and developing just because they were dead. They always posed more challenges to their initial hagiographers than did the long-forgotten but now newly discovered saints of the sixth century, because these hagiographers had to deal with what their subjects had actually said and done, rather than merely what a holy person ought to say and do. Subsequent hagiographers were able to smooth out some of the strangeness of their subjects, not so much by rejecting what had originally been written as by modifying it. Thus Martin became a solid member of an institutionalized church; Germanus became first and foremost a man of Auxerre; Genovefa became an inspiration for the newly Christian Merovingian king; Caesarius became an authority figure and miracle worker; and Radegund became the ascetic inspiration for a well-ordered nunnery.

Both the original biographers of these saints and those who rewrote their *vitae* wanted to create an empathic link between the saints and those who read about them. In some cases the readers were instructed to feel compassion for the marginalized and outcast whom the saint aided, in others to attempt to emulate the saint's own privations. Some authors from the end of the sixth century tried to rework variations of the previous two hundred years about what was considered holy so that what now predominated was the version of sanctity commonly accepted in the year 600, with which their communities could readily identify. Others, however, posed a challenge to their communities, to accept a version of holiness that was not so comfortable. In all cases, the hagiographers sought an empathic link with their readers, whom they intended to identify with the version of sanctity that they had constructed.

*Constance B. Bouchard*

Distinguished Professor of Medieval History  
Department of History, University of Akron

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## ANSELM AND PRAYING WITH THE SAINTS

Rachel Fulton Brown\*

I don't know about you, but I have always had difficulty understanding the role of saints in prayer. I would much rather dispense with the intermediaries and go directly to God. The Virgin Mary, to be sure, holds a certain interest as the human being who bore God in her body and gave birth to him in the flesh, but the apostles, evangelists, virgins, martyrs, and confessors seem to me only so many filters between me and the unmediated experience of the divine. A critic could say that this is because, as a Protestant, I have not been taught to see God in his saints, but if so, I can only plead that it is a blindness that I share with some eminent seekers both before and after the Reformation.

For decades now, scholars have celebrated the 'revolution' brought about in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in devotion to God and his mother, thanks largely, if not exclusively, to the highly evocative and pre-eminently personal meditations and prayers of Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109).<sup>1</sup> Nor, to be fair, are modern scholars alone in this assessment. By the late Middle Ages, Anselm's original collection of nineteen prayers had swollen to over seventy-five, the vast majority of these additional prayers addressed directly to God, Christ, and the Virgin Mary.<sup>2</sup> Less often remarked both in his own day and for centuries

\* With many thanks to Karl Morrison for teaching us to think about the hermeneutic importance of empathy, particularly as expressed in the relationship between the speaking (or praying) 'I' and the listening (or empathetic) 'you'.

<sup>1</sup> Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, pp. 232–40; Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 34–47; and Southern, *Saint Anselm*, pp. 91–112. In addition, see Bynum, 'Introduction', pp. 16–18; Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 179–92; Cottier, *Anima mea*, pp. xxxix–lxxi; Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 142–243.

<sup>2</sup> For this expanded collection, see Anselm, *Orationes*, ed. by Migne.

thereafter is the fact that while Anselm wrote, indeed, three prayers to Mary, he wrote only one to God the Father and three to Christ, two of the latter designated respectively ‘*pro amicis*’ and ‘*pro inimicis*’, plus one for the reception of the Eucharistic body and blood. With the exception of one further prayer to the Holy Cross, all of the other prayers — ten out of nineteen in total — were addressed to the saints: John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist (two prayers), Stephen, Nicholas, Benedict, Mary Magdalene, and ‘by a Bishop or Abbot to the Patron Saint of his Church.’<sup>3</sup> Clearly, for Anselm, saints were integral to prayer.

Allowing for my own confessional predispositions, it is still arguably somewhat difficult to reconcile the author of the *Monologion*, *Proslogion*, and *Cur Deus homo* with his prayers to the saints, however eloquent. Is this not the same man who adjured himself at the outset of his *Proslogion*: ‘Enter the inner chamber of your soul, shut out everything except God, [...] and when you have shut the door, seek him. Now, my whole heart, say to God, “I seek your face, Lord, it is your face I seek.”’<sup>4</sup> What space is there in such an inner chamber for intermediaries, or indeed, for anything other than the inquiring soul and God? It is, surely, a scene more suited to unblushing displays in the ‘adult’ section of the edge-of-town bookstore than to the exalted privacy of the contemplative cell for there to be a third person present whom the seeker watches as he or she makes love to God. Is it not embarrassing enough that the seeker him- or herself should be encouraged to make love to God without invoking a third? And yet, this would seem to be what Anselm in his prayers to the saints is asking. As he prayed to St John the Evangelist,

Jesus and John (*Domine et domine*),  
 I believe and know that you love each other,  
     but how can I experience this  
     if you do not grant what I ask of you both?  
 Jesus, how can I prove  
 your love for him, or for me, or my love for you both  
 unless through him you grant me what I long for —  
     to be loved of you and to love you?  
 John, how can I know that he loves you  
 if you do not grant me to be loved also?  
     Or that you love him  
     if you do not help me to love him too?

<sup>3</sup> For Anselm’s own prayers, see Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 3–75; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward.

<sup>4</sup> *Proslogion*, chap. 1, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, I, 97; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 239, lines 8–14.

(Excuse my daring, beloved of God [*amor Dei*],  
for it is this love of yours [*amor tuus*] that urges me to speak so.)<sup>5</sup>

René Roques, in his analysis of the structure and character of the prayers, contrasts Anselm's emphasis on love in the prayers with his concentration on reason in his treatises, in support of which reading Roques invokes the instructions Anselm appended to his first collection of prayers: not to read them through from beginning to end, but only so much as is necessary to excite the affections to prayer.<sup>6</sup> One wonders, nevertheless, if only parts of them were necessary, why the prayers are so long — and why there are so many of them. Would not one prayer to Christ have been enough, if love, rather than rational proof, were all that was needed? Perhaps we are here underestimating the complexity of love. Which caution still, however, leaves us with this question: why did Anselm, otherwise so direct in his longing for the understanding and experience of God, spend so much time in his devotional writing imagining God indirectly, as mediated through his saints?

Older Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon prayers on which Anselm's were most likely modelled give only a glimpse of the reasoning behind Anselm's appeal to the saints.<sup>7</sup> In the older prayers, the saints are invoked above all as intercessors, distinguished by their titles in their relationship to God, but otherwise more or less interchangeable as helpers in the struggle against sin. Nothing could be further from the great particularity with which Anselm addresses the saints. Compare this prayer to St John the Baptist from one late Anglo-Saxon manuscript copied at Winchester (first half of the eleventh century), with Anselm's addresses to the same:

Saint John the Baptist, you who in the spirit and power of Elijah [Luke 1. 17] were given by the Father to baptize and preach the coming of the Lord, most faithful precursor, whom among those born of woman no greater has arisen than he bearing witness to the Redeemer, whom you showed to the people being baptized to be the Lamb who takes away the sin of the world, intercede for me that by means of a saving bath [baptism] I may merit to receive redemption in the future with the pure and unstained.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 47–48; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 167, lines 144–57.

<sup>6</sup> Roques, 'Structure et caractères de la prière Anselmienne'; Letter to Matilda, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 4; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> On these important and still understudied (if widely edited) collections, see Cottier, *Anima mea*, pp. xl–lv; and Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm at Admont', pp. 713–16, with bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer Book*, ed. by Muir, no. 20 (p. 52): 'Oratio sancti Iohannis

The feature to note is not just that Anselm's prayer is many times longer than the Anglo-Saxon — some 106 lines in the critical edition as compared with only seven for the older prayer — nor is it, as Professor Southern noted of Anselm's prayers generally, that Anselm's prayer to St John spends much more time in 'severe and lonely introspection' so as to impress upon the sinner the extremity of his sinful state.<sup>9</sup> Rather, it is the fact that John is part of the conversation at all. Other prayers in the same Winchester manuscript addressed to God as Father or Son go on at almost Anselmian length, itemizing the sinner's failing, literally, in one case, from head to toe.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, such prolixity is typical of such confessional prayers throughout the pre-Anselmian tradition.<sup>11</sup> Anselm's innovation, above and beyond the greater rhetorical sophistication of his introspective prayers, was to invoke the saints for such introspective confessions.

Perhaps we should simply excuse the prayers to the saints as unrepresentative of Anselm's later works. The prayers, after all, are some of his earliest works, certainly the prayers to Stephen and Mary Magdalene, most likely those to John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, and John the Evangelist, that he sent sometime before 1072 to the Princess Adelaide.<sup>12</sup> But one would still have to reckon with the prayer to St Nicholas, most likely written after the 1083 translation of the relics of St Nicholas of Myra to Bari, at the latest by 1093.<sup>13</sup> This was the period immediately preceding the composition of the *Cur Deus homo* (1095–98), unquestionably a work of Anselm's theological maturity. Moreover, the prayers to the Virgin Mary preceded the composition of Anselm's great meditations on the definition of God (*Monologion* and *Proslogion*) by only a few years. Prayers to the saints, like

baptiste<e>. Sancte Iohannis baptista, qui spiritu et uirtute Helie fuis<ti> a patre donatus dominice aduentus baptismi et predicatio, fidelissime precursor, cui inter natos mulierum nemo surrexit maior ipso adtestante redemptorem quem ostenderis baptizando populo agnum peccata mundi tollentem, intercede pro me ut salutaris lauacr<o> redemptionem cum mundis et immaculas [sic] accipere merear in futuro.'

<sup>9</sup> Southern, *Saint Anselm*, p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer Book*, ed. by Muir, nos 17 (pp. 44–46), 25 (pp. 61–69), 26 (pp. 70–73), and 31 (pp. 83–86).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the prayers printed by Migne in *Patrologia Latina*, CI, as part of the collection associated with Alcuin, *De psalmorum usu liber*, as well as the prayers in the tenth-century *Libellus sacrum precum* from Fleury.

<sup>12</sup> On the date and order of the composition of the prayers, see Schmitt, 'Prolegomena seu ratio editionis', pp. 141\*–148\*; and Cottier, *Anima mea*, pp. lxxiii–xci. On their place in Anselm's work generally, see Schmitt, 'Zur Chronologie der Werke des hl. Anselm von Canterbury'.

<sup>13</sup> Cottier, *Anima mea*, pp. lxxxi–lxxxii; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 69.

prayers to the mother of God, would seem to have been intimately bound up for Anselm with not only loving, but also thinking about God.

The prayer to St Nicholas is a case in point. It begins, not with an invocation to Nicholas, but rather with a lament at how difficult it is to pray:

Sinful little man, in such great need,  
you have grieved God very much.  
Stir up your mind,  
look inwards at what really matters for you  
and call down pity upon your pitiable state.  
My soul, be watchful; my wretchedness, rouse yourself;  
my wickedness, call upon the God you have angered,  
that he may by chance soften his regard towards you.

But he is Most High, and I am weak;  
how can my voice reach up to him?  
I will lift up my soul above myself,  
that it may come before him who is above it,  
perhaps he will hear me when I call.  
But then he is Most Just, and I have greatly sinned;  
how should he hear my cry?  
I will enter into my inmost being,  
exclude everything except him and myself,  
and before him I will pour out my soul and all that is in me.  
I will stir up my mind to grieve,  
and with grieving love  
I will spread out my hardship before him  
and perhaps his great goodness may move him.

But my sins are without bounds or limits,  
my prayer will not be heard,  
all this is not enough without an intercessor.  
I will pray to one of the great friends of God  
*(aliquem de illis magnis familiaribus Dei)*  
and perhaps God will hear him on my behalf.  
I will call upon Nicholas, that great confessor,  
whose name is honoured throughout the world.  
Nicholas!  
If only he will hear me!  
Great Nicholas!<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Oratio 14, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 55; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 184–85, lines 1–32.

What follows is a meditation on the complexity of intercession, beginning with an appeal to God to allow Nicholas to receive the sinner's petition even if God holds back from listening. The prayer reflects on the power (*potentia*) of the saint now that he lives in heaven to give spiritual help greater than the corporeal help he gave during his pilgrimage on earth. It then laments how difficult it is for the soul to turn itself towards God and the saint, so darkened and bound is it by sin. The abyss of sin makes it impossible for the soul to pray, and so it prays to Nicholas, in God's name, 'not to defend me, but to pray for me'.<sup>15</sup> The saint, in his great contrast with the sinner, makes it possible for the sinner to pray, 'to enter into my inmost being, exclude everything except God and myself, and before God pour out my soul and all that is in me'.<sup>16</sup>

The relationship in its triangularity is strikingly suggestive of another, likewise Trinitarian form: the Father and the Son one with the love that is the Holy Spirit, proceeding from them both; God made lovable for the sinner by the love that the saint has for them both.<sup>17</sup> Who here is empathizing with whom? It is not the saint with whom the sinner would seem to identify, because it is after all the saint's goodness that sets him apart from the sinner and so makes him effective as an intercessor. Neither, however, is the saint identified with God, for otherwise there would be no need for the saint: the sinner might have as unmediated an experience of God as he does, in prayer, of the saint. Nor is it simply a matter of transference: the sinner's love for God transferred to the saint or of the saint's love for God transferred to the sinner. As with the three persons of the Trinity, so with the three persons of the prayer: God moves the sinner to repentance through the saint; the sinner moves the saint to intercede for him through God; and the saint moves God to have mercy on the sinner. It is, as it were, a triangularity of agency — God moving the sinner who moves the saint who moves God — as much as of presence or identity.

This is not, it should be noted, the form of empathy for which Anselm is famous. Where in this scene is the Anselm who lamented that his soul was not present 'to be pierced by a sword of bitter sorrow when [it] could not bear the piercing of the side of [its] Saviour with a lance'?<sup>18</sup> Where is the Anselm who

<sup>15</sup> Oratio 14, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 61; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 194, line 328.

<sup>16</sup> Oratio 14, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 55; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 184, lines 16–19.

<sup>17</sup> *Proslogion*, chap. 23, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, I, 117; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> Oratio 2, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 7; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*,

resolved to weep day and night until his tears should say to him, 'Behold your God', and his soul should hear, 'Behold your bridegroom'?<sup>19</sup> Surely the whole point of the *Proslogion* was for the reasoning soul to find a way to bridge the gap between desire and understanding so as to 'enter into the joy of my Lord, who is God one and triune, blessed forever', not to spend its time meditating on the saints in their relationship to God.<sup>20</sup> And yet, even in his prayer to Christ, Anselm longed to share Christ's sufferings, not only with Christ, but in company with others. 'Why', he chastises his soul, 'did you not share the sufferings of the most pure virgin, his worthy mother and your gentle lady?'<sup>21</sup> Further: 'Would that I with happy Joseph might have taken my Lord from the cross, wrapped him in spiced grave-clothes and laid him in the tomb [...]. Would that with the blessed band of women I might have trembled at the vision of angels and have heard the news of the Lord's Resurrection, news of my consolation, so much looked for, so much desired.'<sup>22</sup>

Theologically, there is a greater mystery here than simply the desire to excite compassion for Christ's sufferings and contrition for one's sins. Rather, I would argue, there is a reason that Anselm began his theological career with a collection of prayers to the saints that is of a piece with the more 'rational' treatises on which his theology is typically seen to have been based. We may recall here the method by which his teacher Lanfranc is known to have proceeded and Anselm to have employed, above all, in his *Monologion*, for his proof of the existence of God: equipollency, the progressive redefinition of a proposition whereby A is shown to be equivalent to D because A=B=C=D.<sup>23</sup> More prosaically, Anselm was intellectually habituated to move from definition to equivalence. In his treatises, we see this exercise at work through 'necessary reasons'; in his prayers, by contrast, we see the same technique at work through love — and yet, in both, it should be noted, to the same conclusion: how best to come to an understanding (read, definition) of God. This, after all, was Anselm's recurring prayer: 'Teach my heart

trans. by Ward, p. 95, lines 79–82.

<sup>19</sup> Oratio 2, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 9; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 98, lines 182–84.

<sup>20</sup> *Proslogion*, chap. 26, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, I, 122; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 267, lines 824–25.

<sup>21</sup> Oratio 2, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 8; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 95, lines 89–91.

<sup>22</sup> Oratio 2, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 8; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 96, lines 109–20.

<sup>23</sup> Colish, *The Mirror of Language*, pp. 95–105; Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, p. 135.

where and how to seek you, where and how to find you [...]. Teach me to seek you, and as I seek you, show yourself to me, for I cannot seek you unless you show me how, and I will never find you unless you show yourself to me.<sup>24</sup> One of the most important ways that God shows himself — or so Anselm's prayers suggest — is through his saints.

The Virgin Mary is perhaps the most obvious example of this making God visible. Indeed, it is fair to say that without Mary, God might not have become visible, sensibly speaking, at all.<sup>25</sup> Thus, arguably, the great difficulty that Anselm experienced in crafting a suitable prayer to her. As he told his friend Gundolf who had requested a prayer, the first two prayers that Anselm wrote did not satisfy; it was only on a third attempt that he felt he had gotten things right.<sup>26</sup> Why, then, include all three prayers in the collection? Because, as is clear if all three prayers are read in order, even through Mary, God is very difficult to see.<sup>27</sup> The first prayer is written for the mind 'weighed down with heaviness'. Its burden is to acknowledge 'how confused and disturbed is the state of sin' intervening between the one praying and the possibility of healing.<sup>28</sup> Having acknowledged its filthiness, however, the mind is then thrown, as with the second prayer, into a state of fear, overwhelmed by the prospect of impending judgement. The purpose of this second prayer, accordingly, is to acknowledge that in sinning against the Son, the sinner alienates the mother: 'nor can [he or she] offend the mother without hurting the Son'.<sup>29</sup> It is only thus prepared by the recognition of the reciprocity between the Lord God and his Lady Mother that the sinner is ready to make the request of the third and final prayer, for entry into Christ and Mary's love.

Who here is the 'I' and who the 'you'? The sinner longs to love Mary with all his heart, to praise her with his lips, to venerate her in his understanding, to

<sup>24</sup> *Proslogion*, chap. 1, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, I, 98, 100; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 239–40, 243, lines 16–17, 134–38.

<sup>25</sup> Anselm would later point out (*Cur Deus homo*, II, 8; Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, II, 102–04) that God might have become incarnate in any one of four ways: from neither a man nor a woman, like Adam; from a man without a woman, like Eve; from a man and a woman together, as is usual; or from a woman alone, 'which he had not yet done'. The last, Anselm concluded, was most fitting because it completed the pattern.

<sup>26</sup> Letter 28, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 136; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 106.

<sup>27</sup> Fletcher, 'Prayer to St. Mary I'.

<sup>28</sup> Oratio 5, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 14; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 108, line 53.

<sup>29</sup> Oratio 5, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 16; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 112, line 75.

pray to her from his deepest being, to commit himself to her protection.<sup>30</sup> Mary is the 'you' with whom the 'I' of the one praying longs to become one in love and understanding. And yet, Mary herself is one with another in her love for her Son, so that to rejoice in her love is to rejoice at once in the love that she has for her Son and he for her. And thus the sinner prays:

Speak and give my soul the gift  
of remembering you (*vos*) with love, delighting in you,  
rejoicing in you, so that I may come to you.  
Let me rise up to your (*vestra*) love.  
Desiring to be always with you (*vestro*), my heart is sick of love,  
my soul melts in me, my flesh fails.  
If only my inmost being might be on fire  
with the sweet fervour of your (*vestrae*) love,  
so that my outer being of flesh might wither away.  
If only the spirit within me  
might come close to the sweetness of your (*vestrae*) love,  
so that the marrow of my body might be dried up.<sup>31</sup>

The dissolution of self into Other longed for here is as absolute as that for which the mystic might be expected to pray, and yet it is not God alone, but God-loving-Mary, Mary-loving-God to whom the soul looks in love:

So I venerate you (*vos*) both,  
as far as my mind is worthy to do so;  
I love you (*vos*) both,  
as far as my heart is equal to it;  
I prefer you (*vos*) both,  
as much as my soul can;  
and I serve you (*vos*) both,  
as far as my flesh may.<sup>32</sup>

Once again, as with the prayer to St Nicholas, the soul's access to experience and understanding of God is mediated by the love of God for another: in loving Mary, the soul loves God. Nevertheless, it is equally important that in loving

<sup>30</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 18; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 115, lines 5–9.

<sup>31</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 24; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 124, lines 293–304.

<sup>32</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 25; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 126, lines 363–70. Here, we should note, it is God as Son to whom Anselm prays, rather than God as Father. The *vos*, properly speaking, is Mary and Christ.

God, the soul also loves Mary, whom God loves. Would it be possible for the soul to love God without loving Mary, or to love Mary without loving God? The question is unthinkable. It was Mary who 'showed to the sight of all the world its Creator whom it had not seen'; therefore, it is Mary who 'is the mother of all re-created things', she who 'brought forth him by whom all are saved'.<sup>33</sup> In Mary, aesthetic production and biological reproduction are themselves made one: 'Deus omnia creavit, MARIA Deum generavit.'<sup>34</sup> Even linguistically, the parallel is impossible to ignore: 'Nihil aequale MARIAE, nihil nisi Deus maius MARIA.'<sup>35</sup> If God, in Anselm's definition, is 'that-than-which-a-greater-cannot-be-thought', Mary is 'that-than-which-a-greater-cannot-be-thought-other-than-God'.<sup>36</sup> Just as St Nicholas as 'Every Saint' makes it possible to pray, so Mary makes it possible — or so Anselm would seem to be suggesting — to love and to think about God. Mary is the 'you' who makes it possible for God to say 'I'; the Mother who shows the Son to the world. 'O truly', the prayer exclaims, "the Lord is with you", to whom the Lord gave himself, that all nature in you might be in him.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, one with God though she might be, even Mary of herself could not encompass the full complexity of God's love. If 'nothing but God is greater than Mary', still God is greater than Mary. There are still things about God that Mary cannot, in her love for God as his mother, show. We penetrate at last to the full mystery of the saints. Why are there so many of them if God's love for Mary equals God's love for St John equals God's love for St Paul equals God's love for St Mary Magdalene equals God's love for the most wretched sinner? Because, in truth, although every soul experiences the fullness of God's love, no two souls experience this fullness in exactly the same way. In saying to God, 'I am you', that is, 'I long for you; I love you; I seek to understand you', each of the saints reveals God's love refracted through the lens of his or her particular 'I'. Accordingly, just as the saints recognize themselves as selves — souls made in the image and likeness of God — as they gaze upon the Other in whose likeness they were made, so that Other reveals itself in the creatures of its making. To understand and experi-

<sup>33</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 20, 22; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 118, 121, lines 103–04, 192, 195.

<sup>34</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 22; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 120, line 185: 'God created all things, and Mary gave birth to God.'

<sup>35</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 21; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 120, lines 177–78: 'Nothing equals Mary, nothing but God is greater than Mary.'

<sup>36</sup> Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, p. 236.

<sup>37</sup> Oratio 7, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 22; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 121, lines 199–201.

ence God, Anselm's prayers suggest, it is not enough to seek him with the mind; it is also necessary to seek him in love, as God has shown himself through his love for the saints. And yet, each of the saints, in his or her love, shows something new about God. God is not simply one point in a dynamic triangle of sinner, saint, and Beloved, each bond mediated by love. Rather, what we have here is a love-in, the Beloved revealed in the love of his lovers, the lovers defined as much by what they can see of each other's love as by the love they have for God. Let us, or so Anselm's prayers invite us, watch them as the saints make love to God and so learn from them how to make love to God ourselves.

Here is St John the Baptist, 'full of God before [he] was born of [his] mother, [knowing] God before [he] knew the world'.<sup>38</sup> In his presence, the sinner recognizes his or her need for baptism, 'born in sin of necessity but now wallowing in it of my own free will'.<sup>39</sup> Although the sinner recognizes, 'my sins have made me what I am, you [John] have not made yourself what you are, but the grace of God with you'.<sup>40</sup> The same possibility of making is held out to the sinner by John's example, and yet the sinner wallows in 'the sorrows of eternal misery', choosing rather to superimpose on his or her soul 'the image that is hateful' in place of the gracious image in which God originally fashioned her.<sup>41</sup> The prayer itself becomes a reflection on the horrors of this newly marred face, in fear of which the sinner longs to fly from him- or herself, but cannot. And so, the soul prays through John once again to be renewed: 'Give me back through the sorrow of penitence what you had through the sacrament of baptism [...]. Jesus, good Lord, if you perform the work that he testifies of you, John, revealer of God (*monstrator Dei*), if you witness to what he performs, be it to me according to your word (*fiat in me verbum tuum*)'.<sup>42</sup> John, who showed God to the world by baptizing him, shows the sinner to him- or herself in the need for baptism; full of God even in the womb, John bears the image of God to whom he testifies. Praying to John, the sinner longs to be remade in that image, to become full of — one with — God him- or herself.

<sup>38</sup> Oratio 8, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 26; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 127, lines 5–7.

<sup>39</sup> Oratio 8, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 26; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 128, lines 46–47.

<sup>40</sup> Oratio 8, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 26; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 128, lines 33–35.

<sup>41</sup> Oratio 8, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 27; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 128–29, lines 62, 67–68.

<sup>42</sup> Oratio 8, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 29; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 132–33, lines 178–79, 216–19.

Here is St Peter, 'faithful shepherd of the flocks of God, chief of the apostles, prince among such mighty princes'.<sup>43</sup> And here is the sinner, lying 'groaning at the shepherd's feet, [coming] before the Lord of the shepherds and the sheep', begging the shepherd to have mercy on him and showing him the 'gashes of wounds, and the bites of wolves, which he ran into when he strayed'.<sup>44</sup> How can the sinner be assured that Peter will understand his or her plea? Because, even though the sheep has strayed, 'at least it is not he who has denied his Lord and Shepherd' — as Peter, of course, did.<sup>45</sup> And so the sinner reminds the saint: 'Remember that Christ asked you three times if you loved him, and when you three times confessed it, he said to you, "Feed my sheep."'<sup>46</sup> But what if, the prayer wonders, even then Peter refuses to listen, even after the sinner has reminded him that it is a human soul that is suffering and that the wolves and lions that have attacked the sheep are 'not animals but demons'?<sup>47</sup> Then the soul may turn to Peter as doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven and display itself in all its misery and beg for 'the mercy of God and of Peter'.<sup>48</sup> Whereas the Virgin Mary reveals God as the Creator of all things and John the Baptist reveals him as the one in whose image and likeness even the most abject sinner has been made, Peter reveals the Lord in his mercy, who made of him who denied God three times the shepherd of his sheep and the doorkeeper of his kingdom. To say with Peter, as a sinner, 'I am you,' is thus to say with God, 'I forgive you your sins'.

And here is St Paul, 'among Christians like a nurse, who not only cared for her sons, but in some way brought them forth a second time, with careful and marvellous tenderness' (cf. 1 Thessalonians 2. 7).<sup>49</sup> Before Paul, the sinner stands accused before God, 'condemned by myself, for I also was made by

<sup>43</sup> Oratio 9, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 30; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 135, lines 2–4.

<sup>44</sup> Oratio 9, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 30–31; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 136, lines 44–45, 49–50.

<sup>45</sup> Oratio 9, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 31; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 137, lines 75–76.

<sup>46</sup> Oratio 9, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 31; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 137, lines 82–85.

<sup>47</sup> Oratio 9, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 31–32; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 138, lines 112–15.

<sup>48</sup> Oratio 9, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 32; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 139, line 147.

<sup>49</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 33; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 141, lines 9–12.

him'.<sup>50</sup> So miserable does the sinner become in this prayer that both faith and hope vanish, his sins having sold him 'to the merchants of hell (*mercatoribus inferni*), who collect their merchandise in the lake of death'.<sup>51</sup> 'Teach me, Lord', the sinner cries out, 'whence I ought to hope, so that I can pray.'<sup>52</sup> And so, the sinner turns to Paul and his teachings about faith, for 'if "the just man lives by faith" [Romans 1. 17], whoever has no faith is dead'.<sup>53</sup> Here, reason is not enough: 'I knew through my rational nature, but I did not understand; death had made me insensitive. Indeed I was dead, and as a dead man I have come to you; it is only now that I have realized that I am dead.'<sup>54</sup> Dead, the sinner prays to Paul for life, that he come down upon his soul like Elijah and Elisha, who brought the dead to life. Indeed, Paul has the power to raise the dead, 'for by the witness of God, the "grace of God is sufficient for you"' (II Corinthians 12. 9).<sup>55</sup> 'Sweet nurse, sweet mother', the sinner pleads, 'who are the sons you are in labour with, and nurse, but those whom by teaching the faith of Christ you bear and instruct?'<sup>56</sup> I am your son; 'your son is this dead man [...]. Dear mother, recognize your son by the voice of his confession.'<sup>57</sup>

And yet, not only Paul is a mother, but also Jesus, who died to give birth to sons into life.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, both Paul and Jesus are mothers as well as fathers, 'fathers by your effect and mothers by your affection'.<sup>59</sup> 'Paul, my mother', the sinner reminds the saint, 'Christ bore you also; so place your dead son at the feet of

<sup>50</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 34; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 142, lines 59–60.

<sup>51</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 35; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 144, lines 125–26.

<sup>52</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 35; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 145, lines 144–45.

<sup>53</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 36; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 147, lines 207–08.

<sup>54</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 37; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 149, lines 264–68.

<sup>55</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 38; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 150, lines 290–91.

<sup>56</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 39; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 152, lines 362–65.

<sup>57</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 39; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 152, lines 373–76.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Bynum, 'Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother', in Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 113–14.

<sup>59</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 40; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 154, lines 421–22.

Christ, your mother, because he also is Christ's son.'<sup>60</sup> Once again, the sinner is revealed in the likeness of the saint, the saint in the likeness of God: the sinner and Paul, both sons of Jesus, their mother; Paul and Jesus, both mothers of the sinful son. Through Paul, the sinner sees Jesus as mother, the hen gathering her chicks under her wings (cf. Matthew 23. 37); through Paul, Jesus is encouraged to give life to his children: 'Saint Paul, pray for your son, because you are his mother, that the Lord, who is his mother too, may give life to his son.'<sup>61</sup>

The mutual identity of sinner, saint, and Lord is even more pronounced in the two prayers to St John the Evangelist. 'You', the first prayer begins, 'were pre-eminent in the love of God among so many who were eminently loved, so that outstanding love was your characteristic sign amongst them all.'<sup>62</sup> Indeed, so outstanding was the love of Jesus for John and John for Jesus that, as God, Jesus gave John to his mother 'in place of himself when he left her at bodily death.'<sup>63</sup> John himself became Mary's son even as she stood weeping with him under the Cross as her Son died. As the sinner realized in the second of the prayers to Mary, just as to sin against the Son is to alienate the Mother, so in sinning against his Beloved, the sinner deserves the hatred of the Beloved of God. Praying to John, God's Beloved (*dilectus*), the sinner realizes him- or herself as in fact an enemy of God, having offended not only God, but all the friends of God (*amici*) and, indeed, all his creatures. Arguably, the sinner has never been so desperate as he or she is, here, in the face of the love that made John loved of God. Mary it was who made God visible to his creation; John the Baptist, who showed God through his baptism; Peter, who revealed God in his great mercy, forgiving even him who denied God; Paul, who revealed God in his care for his dead children. John, 'best beloved of the apostles of God', reveals God above all in his love.<sup>64</sup> I, the sinner says to John, want to be you: 'I want to love such a great love as was granted to you by God.'<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 41; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 155, lines 446–48.

<sup>61</sup> Oratio 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 40, 41; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 153, 155, lines 397–99, 453–55.

<sup>62</sup> Oratio 11, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 42; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 157, lines 4–7.

<sup>63</sup> Oratio 11, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 42; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 157, lines 10–11.

<sup>64</sup> Oratio 11, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 42; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 157, line 3.

<sup>65</sup> Oratio 11, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 44; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 161, lines 130–31.

The second prayer, 'to ask for the love of God and those near him', is even more explicit in this request. Here, John is invoked as 'one of the great lords of the kingdom of God (*magnis principibus*), one of those who are very rich in love, loving God, and loved by him, the richest (*ditissimus*) in love of those whom God loves', in comparison with whom the sinner is a beggar, '[pleading] at the gate of [John's] clemency'.<sup>66</sup> As with the prayers to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul, the governing metaphor here is scriptural: 'How does God's love abide in anyone who has the world's goods and sees a brother or sister in need and yet refuses help?' (1 John 3. 17).<sup>67</sup> It is love in which the sinner is poor, love only that will fill it. And so, the soul begs John, rich in love, 'to obtain for him that two-fold love of God (*mutuam dilectionem Dei*)'.<sup>68</sup> The matter of payment is, however, by no means direct. It is not John, of course, who pays out mercy to those poor in love, but God, who 'loves us because of you'. Likewise, 'if we love him through you, he will pay that with grace'.<sup>69</sup> Nor does the love that God grants to the beggars diminish the love that God has for John. Rather, the more John turns sinners to loving God, the more they become his debtors; and yet, in bringing them to the love of God, John himself repays their debt. John, it would seem, is himself in debt to God for the love of all those who do not yet love God. In turning the beggars to God and obtaining God's love for them, John simultaneously pays their debt and his. John's love for God is God's love for the sinners just as the sinner's love for John is the love he owes to God for his love for him. Accordingly, 'John', the sinner cries, 'you see me — see me! [...] look and have pity on me!'<sup>70</sup> And with this plea, the beggar knows at once that he is seen: 'Scio, sentiam'.<sup>71</sup> Even as the

<sup>66</sup> Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 45; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 163, lines 3–6, 11.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 48; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 168, lines 174–80: 'You know, sir, what you yourself have written in your Epistle of whosoever has this world's goods and sees that his brother has need, and shuts up his bowels of compassion to him; what then, sir, if anyone has the goods of eternal life and sees a soul near him have need?'

<sup>68</sup> Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 46; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 165, line 69.

<sup>69</sup> Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 46; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 165, lines 73–76.

<sup>70</sup> Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 48; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 169, lines 210, 214.

<sup>71</sup> Oratio 12, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 48; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 169, line 221: 'I know, I experience it.'

saint looks upon the sinner and thus makes possible his love, so in looking at the saint in his love for God, the sinner becomes capable of love.

Thus far, with the exception of the Virgin Mary, what we have been talking about are prayers written by a man to, in effect, other men, saints though they may be. Perhaps this is as it should be. Certainly, there has been a propensity in much recent discussion of the appeal of the saints to whom medieval Christians prayed to assume that medieval women and men preferred to pray to saints with whom they could identify on the basis of their sex, women to women, men to men.<sup>72</sup> Given that the majority of all prayers, not just Anselm's, were addressed to either God or his Mother by both women and men, it is difficult to know how important the gender of the prayer's object actually was. How much was Anselm's ability to say with the saint 'I am you' bound up with how he, as a man and a monk, saw himself in relationship to Christ as God? Two of the prayers — to St Benedict and to the patron saint of a bishop's or abbot's church — would appear to address this question directly, and yet both, along with the prayers to St Stephen and St Mary Magdalene, were included in the collection that Anselm ultimately had made as a gift for the Countess Matilda of Tuscany.<sup>73</sup> Likewise, the original collection that Anselm sent to Princess Adelaide included, or so we are told by Anselm in his dedicatory letter to her, some 'seven prayers,' only two of which Anselm identified by name: St Stephen and St Mary Magdalene.<sup>74</sup> While Anselm noted in his preface to the Matildan collection that he recognized that some of the prayers were 'not appropriate to [her]' ('in quibus quamvis quaedam sint quae ad vestram personam non pertinet'), he did not indicate which these might be.<sup>75</sup>

We are left with a puzzle: what, in fact, if any, were the limits of empathy in praying to the saints for Anselm? Was gender one of them, and if so, how?

It is perhaps significant that of all Anselm's prayers, whether to God or his saints, it is only in the prayers to Christ and Mary Magdalene that Anselm imagines himself, as it were, a spectator, wishing that he were rather a participant in the scene. In his prayer to Christ, as we have seen, Anselm laments:

<sup>72</sup> For the difficulties with this assumption with respect to Christ and the Virgin, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 269.

<sup>73</sup> See, in addition to the works cited in note 12 above, Wilmart, 'Le Recueil de prières adressé par Saint Anselme à la comtesse Mathilde'.

<sup>74</sup> Letter 10, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 113–14; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 172–73.

<sup>75</sup> Prologus, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 4; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 90: 'Some of them are not appropriate to you.'

Alas for me, that I was not able to see  
 the Lord of Angels humbled to converse with men [...].  
 Alas that I did not deserve to be amazed  
 in the presence of a love marvellous and beyond our grasp.  
 Why, O my soul, were you not there  
 to be pierced by a sword of bitter sorrow [...].

You have ascended, consoler of my life,  
 and you have not said farewell to me [...].  
 'lifting up your hands'  
 you were received by a cloud into heaven,  
 and I did not see it;  
 angels promised your return; and I did not hear it.<sup>76</sup>

In his prayers to Mary Magdalene, unlike those to any of the other saints, Anselm's sense of being excluded from the scene and only being able to watch is even more intensified — and yet Mary, above all, exemplifies the forgiven sinner: 'My dearest lady, well you know by your own life how a sinful soul can be reconciled with its creator, what counsel a soul in misery needs, what medicine will restore the sick to health.'<sup>77</sup> Here, rather than using the prayer to evoke a sense of the sinner's distance from God, Anselm urges Mary to a recollection of her longing for her Lord as she searched for him at the tomb. While in the prayer to Christ, Anselm lamented at the fact that he was not there to see the pains that Christ suffered ('Heu mihi, qui videre non potui dominum angelorum humiliatum'), so in the prayer to the Magdalene he wonders at Mary's pain as, burning with love, she sought for the one who had defended her even in her sins. Mary's pain, not the praying sinner's, is the centrepiece here, as Christ, coming upon her in the garden, asks, 'Woman, why are you weeping?' (John 20. 15).<sup>78</sup>

The prayer goes on to imagine her response and to wonder that he for whom she is weeping does not seem, from his question, to understand. And yet, he must know: 'Do you water (*rigabas*)', the prayer asks Christ, playing off the fact that Mary mistook her Lord for a gardener, 'or do you put her to the test (*an proba-*

<sup>76</sup> Oratio 2, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 7–8; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 95, 97, lines 73–74, 77–80, 135–36, 139–42.

<sup>77</sup> Oratio 16, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 64; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 201, lines 7–11.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Oratio 16, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 65; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 203, line 78. On the liturgical, patristic, and scriptural sources for this prayer, see Saxer, 'Anselme et la Madeleine'.

bas)? In fact, you are both watering and putting to the test.’<sup>79</sup> With all of the male saints, Anselm concentrates rather on their proximity to God. Even Peter, who denied his Lord, is imagined as standing at the gate of heaven, ready to bind and loose as he will; likewise, Paul who, as Saul, persecuted Christ (Acts 9. 4) is likened directly to Jesus as a mother in labour for her children, while John the Evangelist is depicted as so identified with Christ in love that it is impossible to speak about the love for one without mentioning the other. Like Mary, the mother of Jesus, however, who, in the prayer to Christ if not in the three prayers addressed to her directly, is imagined in the moment of her greatest anguish, tears flowing from her eyes as she saw her only Son ‘bound, beaten, and hurt’,<sup>80</sup> so Mary Magdalene, who was healed by Christ, is imagined weeping, ‘[burning] with anxiety [...] searching all round, questioning’, unsatisfied because the one ‘whom alone she would behold, she sees not.’<sup>81</sup> As with the Virgin Mary in the prayer to Christ, the prayer to Mary Magdalene shows her not as already one with Christ, but as suffering in what she believes to be his absence. Far more poignant, therefore, is the moment when ‘for love’s sake’ (*pia dilectio*), he reveals himself to her, calling her by name: ‘Maria’. Her response is that of every soul who has experienced this sense of absence and (apparent) abandonment: tears changed from grief to joy, flowing now not from a heart ‘broken and self-tormenting’ but rather from a heart exulting with joy. ‘I have seen the Lord’, she now says, ‘and he has spoken to me’ (cf. John 20. 18).<sup>82</sup>

Which relationship affords the more pressing sense of identification for the sinner with either the saint or Christ: that of the sinner with the saint before whom he has declared himself abject and yet with whom he hopes to participate in a relationship with God, or that of the sinner with the saint who herself knew what it was like to long for God and find him suddenly in her midst, talking to her? The dichotomy is arguably a false one: the sinner may simply spend less time abjecting him- or herself before the Magdalene because it is easier for her to empathize with the depths of many sins. Nevertheless, it is surely significant that Anselm explores the longing for God as he does only in the prayers to Christ and

<sup>79</sup> Oratio 16, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 66; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 204, lines 110–12.

<sup>80</sup> Oratio 2, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 8; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 95–96, lines 89–96.

<sup>81</sup> Oratio 16, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 66; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 204, lines 116–20.

<sup>82</sup> Oratio 16, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 66–67; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 205, lines 132, 150–51, 157.

the Magdalene — not simply to know God as Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, or John the Evangelist know him, but to see and speak to the Lord in the flesh. At once, it would seem, Anselm's relationship with the Magdalene is both more and less intimate than his relationship with the other saints: more, for the vividness with which he is able to imagine her interaction with Christ, but less, as watching her, he seems less inclined than with either the Virgin Mary or the apostles, Baptist, and Evangelist to expose himself to her in the abjection of his sin. Here we do well to remember what Karl Morrison has taught us about the modes of association underlying the paradigm of empathy at play in such prayers.<sup>83</sup> Contrast — as Anselm the monk with Mary Magdalene the lady burning with love — may be as compelling as likeness (Anselm with Benedict) or contiguity (Anselm with Peter or Paul) for establishing empathy. Feeling or thinking himself less like the Magdalene (if he did), Anselm, or the one praying with Anselm's prayers, might just as easily have found this contrast with his own socially gendered position more effective for bridging the gap between himself and God, rather than less. Certainly, Anselm imagined no other of the saints enjoying such a moment as Mary's when she recognized her beloved and Lord: 'Master!' (*Raboni!*).<sup>84</sup>

In contrast, the prayer to St Stephen (also sent to Princess Adelaide) and that to St Benedict (also included in the collection for Matilda) depict the saints not only as lovers, but as soldiers of God. Here, Anselm evokes Stephen as 'mighty soldier (*miles*) of God, first of the blessed army (*agmine*) of the martyrs of God',<sup>85</sup> and Benedict as 'peerless leader (*praeclare dux*) among the great leaders of the army ('inter magnos duces exercituum') of Christ'.<sup>86</sup> In both prayers, the sinner's relationship to the saint is the familiar one: before Stephen, fearful above all of the severity of the Judge and the torments it is just that he impose in his wrath; before Benedict, mindful of the gulf between the promise to live 'a life of continual turning to God' ('vitam sanctae conversationis') and the reality of failure to turn from sin.<sup>87</sup> Again, in both prayers, significantly, the sinner's contrast with the saint comes to the fore, rather than the saint's relationship with God: whereas

<sup>83</sup> Morrison, *I Am You*, p. 57.

<sup>84</sup> Oratio 16, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 67; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 205, line 152.

<sup>85</sup> Oratio 13, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 50; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 174, lines 2–3.

<sup>86</sup> Oratio 15, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 62; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 197, lines 32–33.

<sup>87</sup> Oratio 15, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 62; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 196, lines 20–21.

Stephen was judged unjustly and condemned to be stoned, the sinner can expect only just judgement, 'convicted by the weight of his own conscience and by the witness of the eyes of the Judge himself'.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, in the prayer to Benedict, the sinner confesses himself a liar, professing himself a 'soldier, scholar, monk' ('militem et discipulum et monachum'), but convicted by his conscience and way of life.<sup>89</sup> Although the prayer to Stephen concludes with a long meditation on his martyrdom and his prayer for his enemies, in neither prayer is there any sense, as in the prayers to the Marys, Johns, Peter, and Paul, that the saint in his or her intercession reveals something about God.

There is a similar distancing in the prayer by a Bishop or Abbot to the Patron Saint of his Church, 'Saint N, Holy N, Blessed N, one of the glorious apostles of God, one of the blessed friends of God'.<sup>90</sup> As in the prayer to St Benedict, the sinner declares himself outwardly conformed to the life of the saint — to Benedict as a monk, to the patron saint as leader of the community constituted under his (or her?) name — but inwardly living a lie:

For shame! Shameless monk that I am!  
How dare I call myself a soldier of Christ (*miles Christi*)  
and a disciple of Saint Benedict (*discipulus sancti BENEDICTI*)?  
False to my profession,  
how have I the effrontery to let people see me  
with the tonsure and habit of profession  
when I do not live the life?<sup>91</sup>

They behold me preceded like an abbot,  
but I do not behold that I live like an abbot.  
They show me honour like an abbot,  
but I do not show them the way of life of an abbot.  
Scarcely have I led the life of a good layman,  
and yet they expect me to live like a monk.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Oratio 13, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 50; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 175, lines 36–37.

<sup>89</sup> Oratio 15, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 63; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 198, line 86.

<sup>90</sup> Oratio 17, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 68; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 207, lines 1–3.

<sup>91</sup> Oratio 15, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 62–63; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 198, lines 75–81.

<sup>92</sup> Oratio 17, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 68; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, pp. 207–08, lines 26–31.

The great burden of both prayers, accordingly, is *teach me to be like you*. The abbot or bishop prays to the patron saint of his community: 'I beg you, teach me what I am to teach, lead me in the way that I am to lead, rule me so that I may rule others.'<sup>93</sup> What the abbot does not ask is for the saint to teach him anything about God. To be sure, he acknowledges that his flock belongs not to himself, but to Jesus, whom he begs simply to be 'shepherd of both your flock and shepherd.'<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, insofar as he is an abbot or bishop, it is the saint, not God, to whom the one praying looks for counsel and support. The closer, it would seem, the sinner comes to the saint in his or her professed way of life, the less (not more) intimate the relationship with God through the saint becomes. Perhaps it is simply that neither Benedict nor (necessarily) the patron saint had the same familiarity with Christ in the flesh as did his mother, the Johns, Peter, or the Magdalene, but then Paul knew the Lord only after the Resurrection, and it is he through whom the sinner learns to see Christ as a mother. Likeness here, at least socially, would seem to be rather a barrier than an opening to the more immediate experience of God.

As Adrienne von Speyr has argued, it is the great paradox at the heart of prayer that human beings should seek to join in a conversation that has been ongoing from all eternity, everything that the Father 'intends, thinks, and utters' being expressed 'in the Son as Word, intelligible and understood'; the Word of the Father being himself prayer 'since he is simultaneously a conversation with the Father and the Spirit.'<sup>95</sup> Anselm's instructions to his readers as to how to use his prayers suggest something of the same insight: that the prayer is not so much something that the one seeking to pray somehow achieves — as it were, the culmination of an exercise or the end result of a long period of training — so much as something that one allows, in the midst of a practice of reading and meditating, to happen. From this perspective, exercises, such as reading through a written prayer 'little by little, with attention and deep meditation', are potentially helpful, but they are not to be confused with prayer — remembering, delighting, and rejoicing in God — itself.<sup>96</sup> Rather, they are the tools or hints by which one searches for God; likewise, the saints, who themselves have seen God.

<sup>93</sup> Oratio 17, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 68–69; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 208, lines 50–53.

<sup>94</sup> Oratio 17, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 69; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 209, line 71.

<sup>95</sup> Von Speyr, *The World of Prayer*, trans. by Harrison, p. 28.

<sup>96</sup> Prologus to Matilda, Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, III, 4; Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, trans. by Ward, p. 90.

To be sure, praying to the saints can no more guarantee their intercession than prayer itself can guarantee the felt presence of God. This is the mistake that the magician makes, thinking that words and rituals of themselves are sufficient to lift up the spirit to participate in the conversation of God.<sup>97</sup> For this reason, prayer as an exercise begins in abjection — in the embarrassment, as von Speyr puts it, of having estranged oneself from God through sin.<sup>98</sup> It is a recognition that insofar as prayer is possible, it is a grace, not an accomplishment; a glimpse of the ongoing conversation of the Trinity rather than an encounter one has somehow initiated oneself. How does one prepare oneself for such a glimpse? According to Anselm, by empathizing with those who themselves have had this experience. The saints, in their love for God, show the sinner what to look for. By opening themselves to God, they make God visible in his relationship to them. It may be a function of human limitation (1 Corinthians 13. 12) not to be able to see God directly, without first empathizing with God through reflections of divinity in his saints; nevertheless, close as God always is, still, as Anselm lamented, looking for him, sinners cannot see. Curiously, those saints closest to the sinner in life show God least. To seek God, Anselm would seem to be saying, the sinner must first realize his or her identity, what he or she is not. Only then will the soul be able to say with the divine Beloved, 'I am you.'<sup>99</sup>

Rachel Fulton Brown

Associate Professor of Medieval History  
Department of History, University of Chicago

<sup>97</sup> As, for example, in the so-called *Liber iuratus* of Honorius of Thebes. See Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual'.

<sup>98</sup> Von Speyr, *The World of Prayer*, trans. by Harrison, p. 14.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Merton, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 387: 'It is a wonderful experience to discover a new saint. For God is greatly magnified and marvelous in each one of His saints: differently in each individual one. There are no two saints alike: but all of them are like God, like Him in a different and special way. In fact, if Adam had never fallen, the whole human race would have been a series of magnificently different and splendid images of God, each one of all the millions of men showing forth His glories and perfections in an astonishing new way, and each one shining with his own particular sanctity, a sanctity destined for him from all eternity as the most complete and unimaginable supernatural perfection of his human personality.'

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## Part II

### Performing Empathy: Learning by Practice



# LUPUS, OR THE WOLF IN THE LIBRARY: NEW COMMENTARY, EDITION, AND TRANSLATION OF LUPUS OF FERRIÈRES, *EPISTOLA* 1

Michael I. Allen

Affectus, qui passio est, desinit esse passio  
simulatque ejus claram et distinctam formamus ideam.  
—Spinoza<sup>1</sup>

**T**he first pages of Peter K. Marshall's 1984 Teubner text of the *Letters* of Lupus of Ferrières (c. 805–62) confide a remarkable series of hopes and propositions.<sup>2</sup> At sight of them, I bought the book from a new-

<sup>1</sup> 'A feeling that we undergo passively, as suffering, ceases to be suffering as soon as we form a clearly delimited idea of it.' Baruch Spinoza, *Ethica*, pars V, prop. 3, in Spinoza, *Opera*, ed. by Gebhardt, II, 282.

<sup>2</sup> Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*, ed. by Marshall. For a judicious survey of Lupus and his modern bibliography, see Noble, 'Lupus of Ferrières in his Carolingian Context', esp. for the letters, pp. 246–47 and n. 91; also Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 322–23. Of relevance to my subject, without actually impinging on it, are two recent studies: Orlandi, 'Lupo di Ferrières e la saggezza epistolare'; Ricciardi, *L'epistolario di Lupo di Ferrières*. Orlandi (a philologist) and Ricciardi (mixing philology and history) embrace Marshall's edition, with its numbered paragraphing and also its return to the letter sequence found in the key source (BnF, MS lat. 2858 [hereafter *P*], as below), long the most familiar ordering, also kept in Ernst Dümmler's 1902 edition for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Epistolae Karolini aevi*, ed. by Dümmler), pp. 1–126. Léon Levillain, for one, devised a chronological ordering, which he deployed in his influential edition with French translation: Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance*, ed. and trans. by Levillain. Levillain's order stuck widely, including in Lupus of Ferrières, *The Letters*, trans. by Regenos. I have no need here to cite beyond *Epistola* 1, on which all agree. As for Marshall's

arrivals shelf twenty-five years ago and have puzzled over the many figures locked within ever since. Because Lupus elaborated his first, unbidden address (c. 829) to the senior scholar and statesman Einhard (c. 770–840) as a panoply of literary and grammatical fireworks, cohorts of rising Latinists have crossed wits with the upstart, and with me, to their general benefit and also in the service of a longer process of bringing my own sense of the aesthetic tensions in Lupus into a meaningful pattern. *Epistola* 1 is Lupus's earliest known and certainly his most famous composition with its 'propter seipsam appetenda sapientia'. Eduard Norden also called it 'der schönste seiner Briefe', though not without puzzling over some of its content, and he might well have puzzled over more.<sup>3</sup> The letter's communicative tensions are real, and Lupus meant them, but no existing edition actually presents them in faithful guise. What we have had, several times over, is something like the word 'red' written in *green* paint, where words and rhetorical colours falter in the effort to speak them, because meaning and punctuation do not always square.<sup>4</sup>

Lupus needs a new edition, and through repeated probings with students, I have worked out for him, as one must for every author, a bespoke strategy of what might be called *philological empathy*, something Karl Morrison urged, in simpler words, on his students, myself happily included, in his 1982 course on 'The Carolingian Renaissance'.<sup>5</sup> By that principle, we strive to discover texts 'from within', in accord with their native grammar: their vocabulary, syntax, and rhetorical choreography. The author's communicative intent turns on the semantic embrace of words and legitimately conceivable meanings, and also on the structural cadences and apportioning of thought. Here especially, attending to cadential structure delimits and enfranchises the thought. Reading Lupus 'from within', as an 'internalist reader', may not resolve every communicative problem,

edition, *Medioevo Latino* reports eight reviews, none of which picks up on the shortcomings (regarding *cursus*, punctuation, and layout) superseded later in this study. Paradoxically, as I hope gently to show, Jean-Paul Bouhot's praise 'd'une nouvelle collation extrêmement soignée' (Bouhot, review of *Servati lupi epistulae*, ed. by Marshall) stands as an unintended warning to the extent that integral philology (cf. Leonard Boyle's 'integral paleography') should focus on *more* than letter forms, and attend to linguistic and scribal system, and above all to the art and meaning that letters are supposed to serve.

<sup>3</sup> Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 702, 703 and n. 1, and the appendix of *Nachträge*, p. 10 (p. 703 n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> That word/colour dissonance which affects expeditious cognitive processing is the celebrated 'Stroop Effect'.

<sup>5</sup> A new edition, commentary, and translation of Lupus's *Letters* will appear soon in the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*.

but it does show how Marshall (after others) came up short in shaping his monument to the Carolingian classicist, and more importantly how Lupus himself intoned, from his earliest known effort, a prized voice taut with beauty, balance, and fluid meaning.

Approaching Lupus involves facing down the relevant textual tradition. The Abbot himself, of course, played a key role, as copyist, reader, and teacher, in the transmission of many Latin classics. The bulk of his letters, whose headpiece prompts this object lesson, survives thanks to a letter-book transcribed about the time of the Abbot's death by two hands working from originals archived at Lupus's own monastery of Ferrières-en-Gâtinais: BnF, MS lat. 2858 [hereafter *P*], fols 1<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>r</sup>. The small-format codex began as more, but now consists of eight quaternions, with a written space of 160 × 115 mm, blind-ruled for twenty-four written lines in quires I–VII (so numbered on the final verso, = fols 1–57) and for twenty-three in what is now quire VIII (unnumbered, = fols 58–63). One or more quires were lost between fols 57 and 58 before the first modern editor could read them, and all but a stub of the slightly damaged fol. 36 was later pared away.<sup>6</sup> The leaves are now sized to 200 × 160 mm and have been joined with a few others to make a composite volume.<sup>7</sup> With its peculiar mix of content, aspect, and marginal annotations, *P* must stem from the immediate circle of the scholar-abbot.<sup>8</sup> It was almost certainly written at Ferrières, though it migrated, probably soon, to the Abbey of Fleury (now Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, 48 km distant), where it received an ex libris by the eleventh century. Original corrections, marginal queries, and shorthand notes stem in particular from two otherwise documented 'Lupus Schüler'. After the blank first recto, the verso presents the beginning of Letter 1, in a slim, upright French Caroline minuscule, down over twenty-three lines with the twenty-fourth line left empty; the top margin received a title in awkward rustic capitals: *Incipiunt epistolae beati Lupi abbatis*

<sup>6</sup> This had already happened by the time Étienne Baluze consulted the manuscript in April 1664. See below.

<sup>7</sup> The description relies on my own study of the manuscript; cf. Marshall's 'Praefatio' to Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*, pp. v–vii, and notes. On 'punctuation' in *P*, see below. Also see Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, p. 205 (BF1044).

<sup>8</sup> Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the Transmission of Classical Texts', pp. 123, 126–27, and nn. 30, 47. Some points, however, are still best taken from the original German (e.g. 'Typus' refers to the squarish *physical aspect* of Ferrières codices, not their 'type of Carolingian minuscule', Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the Transmission of Classical Texts', p. 126): Bischoff, 'Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung', esp. p. 65 ('Typus'). Also weighing social and institutional factors relevant to the origin of *P* is Ricciardi, *L'epistolario di Lupo di Ferrières*, pp. 24–27 and notes.

*Ferrariensis*. If Lupus inspired the creation of the letter-book, as the Lupus-like annotations by one ‘Schüler’ suggest, the Abbot was of blessed memory before he could himself apply the neat rustic titling which he set elsewhere into books penned under his watch.<sup>9</sup>

Along with direct experience of *P* and an excellent microfilm, I am fortunate to have at the University of Chicago’s Regenstein Library two other important elements in the modern Lupus tradition. Professor Charles Henry Beeson (d. 1949), himself a specialist on Lupus and a medievalist in the department of Classics, left his personal library to the university.<sup>10</sup> The bequest included a uniquely valuable copy of the Paris 1588 editio princeps of Lupus’s letters based on *P*: Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistolarum liber*, ed. by Masson. The text issued by Masson (1544–1611) is cited frequently in Marshall’s edition under the siglum *m* and will be considered here in the specific guise of the Chicago copy.<sup>11</sup> Long before Beeson acquired the book, the Chicago *m* had belonged to Étienne Baluze (1630–1718), the great scholar and also long-time keeper of the famous Colbert Library (1667–1700). His signature, *Stephanus Baluzius Tutelensis*, extends across the lower margin of the book’s title page. In April 1664, as noted in the top margin of the title page, the book received Baluze’s autograph collation (herein *m<sup>b</sup>*) of the letters against *P*, which is lauded in the entry as ‘vetustissimus codex ms. optimae notae’.<sup>12</sup> A later entry by Baluze in the right margin of the title

<sup>9</sup> Bischoff, ‘Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung,’ pp. 65–66, and n. 47; for a ‘Lupus-Schüler’ (following n. 47), Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, I, 113 (no. 537). One of the ‘students’ has also been identified as Heiric of Auxerre (d. c. 876).

<sup>10</sup> Beeson focused on the manuscript traces of Lupus’s humanism, notably in *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic*.

<sup>11</sup> Masson obtained *P* from Pierre Daniel (d. 1603), who came into the manuscript, along with many others, thanks to the Protestant sacking of Fleury Abbey in 1562. ‘Praefatio’ to Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*, ed. by Marshall, pp. v–vi. On the events of 1562, see Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, 30–31. On Masson and other editors of Lupus’s letters, see Ricciardi, *L’epistolario di Lupo di Ferrières*, pp. 50–52. The shelfmark for *m* is Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, Rare Books DC76.L88 [hereafter *m*]. The book was digitized in 2008, and the electronic version is now available without restriction via the library’s website. The book-block measures 163 × 103 mm and has a simple vellum-over-pasteboard slip-binding typical of the late sixteenth century. The pages remain unaltered since Baluze’s collation. The flyleaf shows a seventeenth-century inventory mark, *N° 6225* (possibly the book’s pressmark in Baluze’s large personal library; his printed books were dispersed after his death). A later dated owner’s mark, *C. H. Turner, 1923*, appears on the front pastedown, presumably by the Oxford New Testament scholar Cuthbert Hamilton Turner (1860–1930).

<sup>12</sup> *P* was loaned out to Baluze by ‘Nicolaus Cocquelinus Doctor et Socius Sorbonicus.’ This detail appears in the Preface to the resulting 1664 edition of Lupus (*b*, as below, fol. a-v’); also ‘Praefatio’ to Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*, ed. by Marshall, p. x.

page, records that *P* itself became part of the Colbert Library, *in eam delatus*, on 15 July 1684, and the carefully dated note suggests muted glee at the accession of *uetus ille codex*.<sup>13</sup> The April 1664 collation of *P* as *m<sup>b</sup>* was a key element of Baluze's own much-improved edition (with notes) of the letters and closely preceded the printed result, with its title page emblazoned 'ad fidem uetustissimi codicis'. C. H. Beeson also owned and bequeathed to the University of Chicago a copy of this first-edition treatment by Baluze of Lupus's then-known writings (called *b* by Marshall): Lupus of Ferrières, *Opera*, ed. by Baluze.<sup>14</sup> The Chicago copy of *b* also went through Baluze's hands and contains an autograph dedication.<sup>15</sup> Together, manuscript *P*, the print *m*, the collation *m<sup>b</sup>*, and certain consequent mis-cadences in *b* (and in Marshall) helped me to fuller insight into what happened to Lupus's prose, especially his first letter to Einhard, as it acquired the basic shape in which it became more widely known.

No author is liable for the best efforts of posthumous secretaries, however well meaning or capable they are, least of all an author like Lupus, whose willful refinement was meant to be exceptional, and bedazzling. Although *P* was prepared in his ambit and near his lifetime, the original elaboration of the letter-book — itself an edition based on esteemed sources, but mediated through other minds and hands, and at that, unequal ones<sup>16</sup> — did not perfectly match Lupus's

<sup>13</sup> All Baluze's entries in *m* can be seen in the electronic version (as in note 11). Here *delatus* is shorthand. Baluze indeed bought *P* for the Colbert Library (along with forty-two other choice volumes, purchased as a lot on 15 July 1684) from the library 'de feu Mr Ribier', whose identity, so far, cannot be firmly assigned to one of several candidates, but whose books mostly stemmed from earlier collecting by Jacques and Guillaume Ribier: Damongeot-Bourdat, 'Lire, annoter, illustrer', pp. 70, 71, 74, and 77 with n. 41. In her note, Damongeot-Bourdat suggests a 'contradiction' in *P* being from the Ribier collection (in 1684) and having been loaned to Baluze in 1664 by Nicolas Coquelin (above, note 12). Baluze says very precisely of Coquelin, 'mihi utendum dedit vetustissimum codicem', which makes him the lender (perhaps intermediary), not necessarily the owner.

<sup>14</sup> 'Praefatio' to Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*, ed. by Marshall, p. x. The dedication of *b*, to Charles-Maurice Le Tellier (b. 1642, d. 1710 as archbishop of Reims; ordained priest in 1666), is dated 22 September 1664. Baluze also published a second edition (evidently without revisiting the actual text of the letters) in 1710, which is the source for Lupus as printed in *Patrologia latina*, CXIX.

<sup>15</sup> 'Pour Monsieur Teyssier, s(ieu)r de Rocheseruiere, par son tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur et neuu, Baluze.' Lower margin of the title page. The dedication refers to a brother of Baluze's mother, born Catherine Teyssier.

<sup>16</sup> So, too, for his own reasons, Marshall's 'Praefatio' to Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*, p. vii: 'Sed omnes scribae satis incaute opus perfecerunt.' Jacques Stiennon has provided my favourite self-help book for the modern 'consumer' of medieval transmissions: Stiennon, *L'Écriture*.

communicative intent. With their contrived grandeur, the words and thoughts as paced out by Marshall do not always resolve into rounded units of sense. Striking back to *P* sometimes shows the graphic roots of a problem, but not always the full solution. As a beginning medieval historian, and aspiring philologist, I sensed, and groped after, the cadences of Lupus's voice, against the seeming indifference of the editors, including sometimes the earliest ones.

Latinists, of course, have well appreciated the importance of 'medieval' accentual prose-rhythm thanks to its formal theorization in the late twelfth century and its self-conscious practitioners thereafter. Long ago, Eduard Norden emphasized how the modern rediscovery of ancient prose's quantitative *clausulae* began, in fact, from philological effort over later medieval texts explicitly about, or couched in, the new accentual *cursus*.<sup>17</sup> As terms of art, *cursus*, for medieval accentual (or tonic) prose-rhythm, and *clausulae*, for the ancient quantitative sort, are useful recent labels for discussing the best-known species of rhythmic Latin prose. Yet the distinction they encapsulate easily obscures underlying connections and also synergies across the two systems.<sup>18</sup> In the aftermath of Antiquity, various gifted writers demonstrably showed a bent for perceiving and generating their own sorts of rhythmic prose where intimations of the later *cursus* are inflected by a metrically influenced sensibility. Although the researches involved in mapping the vast terrain of the era of transition are, as he says, 'long and boring', Giovanni Orlandi (d. 2007) gave fresh purpose to my perceptions about the Lupus.<sup>19</sup> He also plotted out how elsewhere Lupus's early hagiographical writings on St Maximin and St Wigbert deploy, without any possible doubt, the basics of *cursus* as we find them in his *Epistola* 1.<sup>20</sup>

The unfamiliar and slightly rebarbative tools of such analysis would detract here from the actual literary effect that emerges unmistakably once one *allows* for it in Lupus, and it *is* there. So I spare the technical and statistical apparatus for a later and larger sample. A few principles (if sharp ears want) suffice to match the

<sup>17</sup> Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 924–26.

<sup>18</sup> So, for one, the neat division, tempered by the actual content, of the article by Powell, 'Prose-Rhythm, Latin'. A key resource on the topic, though without mention of Lupus, remains Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin*; helpfully assessed by Winterbottom, review of Tore Janson, *Prose Rhythm*.

<sup>19</sup> I quote from Orlandi, 'Metrical and Rhythmical Clausulae in Medieval Latin Prose', p. 403. The article is a model of clarity and deserves to be widely known.

<sup>20</sup> Using the methods of Janson, Orlandi, 'Le statistiche sulle clausole della prosa', pp. 21–24. Similarly, with reference to a sampling from Lupus's letters, Lindholm, *Studien zum mittel-lateinischen Prosarhythmus*, pp. 10–11.

words launched at Einhard with the intended cadences and tensions. The linguistic spark behind Lupus's effort places him in remarkably sympathetic proximity to the mix of *clausulae* found in the Latin of Dante Alighieri (d. 1321).

Like Dante, Lupus strove, broadly speaking, for the stylistic refinement of the *cursus*, and both writers also cultivated particular 'eccentric' formulae, with metric-like substitutions, to create cadential effects. Drawing on a typology familiar from Dante, and thus pushed mildly beyond the normal *cursus*, one can readily mark Lupus's movement of voice, in both its medial and resolute pauses.<sup>21</sup> Along with marking the text, *P*'s patterned, and mostly reliable, use of *punctus* and *littera notabilior* to articulate sentence structure provides strong criteria for respectfully punctuating and sectioning the fireworks and meanings of *Epistola* 1.

So, without exhausting the topic of rhythms, I propose to present the best criteria for revealing the intended shape of Lupus's first letter and to offer a lightly marked text, with cues focused on *clausulae* in final position. A limited sample of 'extra' markings also shows how internal uses of cadence mould the reader's perception of syntax; far more could be tagged. I end with a fresh English translation.

For very practical reasons, 'new' editions usually grow up by accretion upon old ones, and I have built on foundations others have laid. An important and chastening feature of the result is to see that *every amanuensis* of Lupus has gone astray since the time of *P*. The notes to the new text show the emergence of influential prejudgements by quoting Baluze's collation of *P* (*m<sup>b</sup>*), its effect in *b*, and overlaid but better prior choices in *P* or *m*.<sup>22</sup> Criticisms laid at Marshall's feet are equally the prize of others, since many doubtful as well as good choices often run back to Baluze, or further. The intervening editors (including Dümmler and Levillain) plainly never reconsidered some basics. They were, to be sure, interested in 'source value' and dates; Lupus, in knitting literary friendship and art.

The text improves on Marshall (and others) by restoring two readings from *P*, which I explain in the notes and through the translation. No less important, I set punctuation and paragraph-sectioning attuned to the syntax and *clausulae*, and also to the graded use of *punctus* and *littera notabilior* deployed reliably, at least by this scribe, to set off units of meaning in *P*, namely: mid-set *punctus* = medial

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Dante, *The Letters*, ed. by Toynbee, pp. 224–31.

<sup>22</sup> As partial justification for his own efforts, Baluze severely criticized Masson's sometimes baffling textual inaccuracies vis-à-vis *P*. Although Masson, himself an excellent Latinist and scholar, had access to *P* (by 1575), his actual edition rested on a problematic intermediary transcription (by 'bad secretaries', as Baluze allowed). I shall discuss the proto-history to Masson's edition on another occasion. Cf. Baluze, 'Praefatio', in Lupus of Ferrières, *Opera*, ed. by Baluze, fols a-iv<sup>v</sup> to a-v<sup>v</sup>.

pause; mid-set *punctus* + *littera notabilior* = medial pause; high-set *punctus* + *littera notabilior* = final pause.<sup>23</sup> *P* here shows no paraph marks, either original or supplied (as often found later in the codex), but Lupus's thought clearly develops stepwise, as paragraphs, within the letter's two main 'episodes', each of which the scribe begins with a prominent marginal initial. I highlight the more important revisions of structuring vis-à-vis Marshall with the help of two signs meant to show the need for the voice to continue or to pause:

- where meaning/rhythm counterindicates Marshall's break;
- ↓ where meaning/rhythm requires a greater stop than Marshall allows.

The apparatus discusses the evidence and my choices where necessary.

To give a sense of the rhythms behind the punctuation, I use superscripts to point out types of *clausulae* that occur in the text. I adapt for my needs an account of the *cursus* in Dante's letters.<sup>24</sup> The formulae are always distributed over two words starting from the tonic accent of the first one, and for either 'word', adjacent elements of a compound tense or close-cluster (e.g. *aemulati sunt, et implicitas*, or even *mens suggestit*) regularly work together as if a single word-unit.<sup>25</sup> The opening after the initial word in a formula makes a caesura. The basic artistic goal was to align two or four unaccented syllables between the tonic accents of two cadential words. With accented syllables noted as /, unaccented ones as o, and the caesura as a point, the main 'canonical' types of *cursus* are the following:

P = *cursus planus* = /o . o/o or /oo . /o or even / . oo/o

T = *cursus tardus* = /o . o/oo or /oo . /oo

V = *cursus velox* = /oo . oo/o or /o . ooo/o

These types allow special subvariants, far less common in canonical *cursus*, based on the substitution of two unaccented syllables for one *post caesuram*:<sup>26</sup>

P\* = /o . oo/o

T\* = /o . oo/oo

V\* = /oo . oo/oo

<sup>23</sup> With its added *litterae notabiliores*, *P* applies the regime of *distinctiones* and *subdistinctiones* discussed by Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Toynbee, 'Appendix C: Dante and the *cursus*', in Dante, *The Letters*, ed. by Toynbee, pp. 224–31.

<sup>25</sup> Lupus lived in only the dawning hours of our era of analytical word separation. See Saenger, 'The Separation of Words and the Order of Words'.

<sup>26</sup> One immediately thinks of parallels in metrical prosody.

There remains one further type, well used by Lupus:

$$M = \text{cursus medius} = /o . /oo$$

In *Epistola* 1, Lupus uses all the basic patterns for both his medial and final pauses. Without resort to statistics, one readily hears — and I recommend reading aloud — his preference for the *cursus velox* to make final stops, a habit that became, for some, a solid rule *after* the twelfth century. Lupus, of course, worked before the high medieval theorizations, and as a *litteratus* acutely aware of the metrical and accentual phenomena that underlie the cadences he used. He also wrote analyses of the metres in Boethius's *Consolatio*.<sup>27</sup>

We do not here have what Karl Morrison once memorably described as 'the gymnasial song of Christ's athletes' (referring to liturgical cantilena), but we do have the measured turns of a linguistically astute writer who aspired to aesthetic refinement.<sup>28</sup> Our Wolf, too, had a sharp ear, and I owe something of mine to Morrison, who always kindly and patiently prodded us to read 'from within'.

And now to Wolf's book-tracks, with periods and paragraphs in accord with art — something like 'red' written in red paint.

### *Lupus of Ferrières, Epistola 1: Latin Text and Apparatus*

[1] Carissimo<sup>29</sup> uiro<sup>30</sup> Einhardo, Lupus salutem.

[2.1] Diu cunctatus sum, desiderantissime hominum, auderem necne excellentiae tuae<sup>31</sup> scribere<sup>M</sup>. [2.2] Et cum me ab hoc officio aliae rationabiles causae, tunc<sup>32</sup> etiam ea maxime deterrebat quod posse id contingere uidebatur, ut dum uestram cuperem amicitiam comparare, offensam incurrerem, scilicet quod et<sup>33</sup> praepropero et inusitato prorsus ordine<sup>M</sup>, ab ipso familiaritatis munere inchoauerim, qui nec primordia notitiae contigissem<sup>V</sup>. [2.3] Ita uehementer

<sup>27</sup> Brown, 'Lupus of Ferrières on the Meters of Boethius'.

<sup>28</sup> Morrison, "Know Thyself", p. 387.

<sup>29</sup> Carissimo] *P* uses a large *littera notabilior* placed in the margin to mark the beginning of *Ep.* 1; so also below at 'Sed semel'.

<sup>30</sup> uiro] *P Mr* (= Marshall), *om. m m<sup>b</sup>(ex silentio) b.*

<sup>31</sup> tuae] *P Mr*, uestrae *m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b.* See notes to the translation.

<sup>32</sup> tunc] *P Mr*, tum *m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b.*

<sup>33</sup> et] *P Mr*, *om. m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b.*

aestuanti<sup>P</sup> ↓,<sup>34</sup> facilis et modesta et quae sane philosophiam deceat → animi uestri natura<sup>P</sup> ↓, tantae rei obtinendae spem tribuit<sup>T</sup> ↓.<sup>35</sup>

[3.1] Verum ut aliquid rationis afferre uidear, taceo quidem saecularium litterarum de amicitia sententias, ne quoniam eis adprime incubuistis, Oratianum illud doctissimorum ore tritum merito accipiam: ‘in siluam ne ligna feras’. [3.2] Deus certe noster, nedum aliquam aspernandi amicos occasionem relinqueret, in<sup>36</sup> diligendos omnino inimicos praescripsit<sup>P</sup>. [3.3] Itaque patienter, quaeso, et benigne aduertite animum, dum altius meas repeto cogitationes,<sup>37</sup> ut nosse possitis quam hoc non perperam nec iuuenili moliar leuitate<sup>V</sup>.

[4.1] Amor litterarum ab ipso fere initio pueritiae mihi est innatus, nec earum (ut nunc a plerisque uocantur) ‘superstitiosa’ uel<sup>38</sup> otia fastidiui<sup>V</sup> ↓.<sup>39</sup> [4.2] Et nisi intercessisset inopia praeceptorum et longo situ collapsa priorum studia pene interissent, largiente Deo<sup>40</sup> meae auiditati satisfacere forsitan potuissem<sup>V</sup> ↓.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *P* follows the *clausulae* at ‘aestuanti’ and then at ‘natura’ with open space. Marshall punctuates the sentence with a single comma after ‘deceat’, in repetition of Levillain.

<sup>35</sup> The dyad ‘spem tribuit’ makes a close-cluster. The *cursus tardus* is followed by a high-set *punctus* and a prominent *littera notabilior* to begin ‘Verum’ and a new train of thought; hence a new paragraph.

<sup>36</sup> in] *P* *m<sup>b</sup>*, *om. m b* *Mr.* *P* is unimpeachable: ‘in’ though nestled with ‘diligendos’ begins with *i-longa* for the preposition, and *pace* Marshall, the intent was never ‘indiligendos’; conversely, ‘inimicos’, two words later, begins with a short-*i*. See the translation.

<sup>37</sup> Followed by a mid-set *punctus*, the dyad ‘repeto cogitationes’ seems to sound a peculiar, but perceptible change on the *cursus velox*, here with a double substitution, namely: / oo . oo oo/o. Lupus invokes patience and mirrors it in the drawn-out inner cadence.

<sup>38</sup> superstitiosa uel] *ex correctione alia manu P* (*compendium* 1 *pro* uel *in rasura* 2–3 *litterarum*), *m<sup>b</sup>*, *nil praeter* superstitiosa *m b*, superstitiosa uel + superuacua *Mr* (*secundum Traube*). Marshall accepts the correction as expanded by Traube. Without exempting the corrector from other oversights (see the next note), his careful revision here makes for an entirely sufficient meaning. See the translation and accompanying note.

<sup>39</sup> fastidiui] *scripsi cum Mr* (*secundum Desdevises du Dezert et Traube*), fastidius *P m<sup>b</sup>*, fastidio sunt *m b*. The final *s* in ‘fastidius’ takes the usual upright, or long form: basically, a miniscule *i* (as required here) with a head-loop (probably born of distraction over the preceding mistake at ‘uel’). ‘fastidiui’ gives the *cursus velox* and fine sense; it is followed by a mid-set *punctus* and a *notabilior* ‘&’ (= ‘Et’); hence, a new sentence.

<sup>40</sup> deo] *P Mr*, domino *m m<sup>b</sup>* (*ex sil.*) *b*.

<sup>41</sup> The dyad ‘forsitan potuissem’ makes *cursus velox*: in fact, a *second* sentence in series ending that way, which often marks a paragraph-like major transition in Lupus. Here, the dyad is followed by a high-set *punctus* and a *notabilior* ‘Siquidem’; *m m<sup>b</sup>* (*ex sil.*) *b* end the sentence at ‘potuissem’ with a full-stop; Marshall’s semicolon is inadequate and joins together things that are rhythmically and rhetorically distinct.

[5.1] Siquidem<sup>42</sup> uestra memoria per famosissimum imperatorem Karolum, cui litterae eo usque deferre debent ut aeternam ei parent memoriam, coepta reuocari aliquantum quidem extulere caput↓,<sup>43</sup> satisque constitit ueritate subnixum praeclarum Ciceronis<sup>44</sup> dictum: ‘honus alit artes et accenduntur omnes ad studia gloria’<sup>T</sup>→. [5.2] Nunc<sup>45</sup> oneri sunt qui aliquid discere affectant→,<sup>46</sup> et uelut in edito situs loco studiosos quosque imperiti uulgo aspectantes, si quid in eis culpa deprehenderunt,<sup>47</sup> id non humano uitio, sed qualitati disciplinarum assignant<sup>P</sup>. [5.3] Ita dum alii dignam sapientiae palmam non capiunt, alii famam uerentur indignam, a tam praeclaro opere destiterunt<sup>V</sup>.

[6.1] Mihi satis apparet propter se ipsam appetenda sapientia<sup>T</sup>. [6.2] Cui indagandae a sancto metropolitano episcopo Aldrico delegatus<sup>V</sup>, doctorem grammaticae sortitus sum, praeceptaque ab eo artis accepi<sup>P</sup>. [6.3] Sic — quoniam a grammatica ad rhetoricam et deinceps ordine ad ceteras liberales disciplinas transire hoc tempore fabula tantum est, cum deinde auctorum uoluminibus spatiari aliquantulum coepissem et dictatus nostra aetate confecti displicerent propterea quod ab illa Tulliana ceterorumque grauitate, quam insignes quoque Christianae religionis uiri aemulati sunt, aberrarent<sup>V48</sup> — uenit in manus meas opus uestrum quo memorati imperatoris clarissima gesta<sup>P</sup> (liceat mihi absque suspitione adulationis dicere<sup>M</sup>) clarissime litteris allegastis<sup>V</sup>↓.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The three interlocking sentences from ‘Siquidem’ provide a *sociological* sketch of (1) ‘then,’ versus (2) ‘now,’ and (3) the consequences for the learning as a pursuit. Compare the translation and notes, and contrast the *individual* focus of the foregoing and following paragraphs.

<sup>43</sup> After ‘caput’ *P* shows a mid-set *punctus*, then ‘Satisque ...’ for a slight medial pause in the absence of a *clausula*; *m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b* appropriately have a comma; Marshall sets nothing. The absence of cadence retains the Ciceronian dictum for the time of Charlemagne that Einhard remembers, but the ‘pointing’ and graphic shaping of the text determine a pause for the voice.

<sup>44</sup> ciceronis] *cic. P, om. m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b*. Baluze identified the ensuing tag as being ‘ex Cic.’ *m<sup>b</sup>(in mg.)*, but misses that the author siglum *is* in *P*.

<sup>45</sup> After ‘gloria’ *P* shows a high-set *punctus* followed by a *notabilior* ‘Nunc ...’ for a full pause; *m* sets a comma, which *m<sup>b</sup>* overlays with ‘. N’ to make a sentence break in *b*. Marshall (following Levillain) disrupts the continuous context by making a paragraph break. While *m* still follows the cumulative argument, its contour is completely lost in *Mr*.

<sup>46</sup> After ‘affectant’ *P* shows a mid-set *punctus*, then a *notabilior* ‘&’ (= ‘Et’) for a medial pause in the absence of a *clausula*; *m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.)* use a comma; *b* and *Mr* use a semicolon.

<sup>47</sup> deprehenderunt] *P Mr, deprehenderint m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b*.

<sup>48</sup> aberrarent] *Mr, oberrarent P m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.) b*.

<sup>49</sup> The *cursus velox* of ‘litteris allegastis’ rhythmically closes a long, involved period. *P* then shows a high-set *punctus* followed by a *notabilior* ‘Ibi ...’ for at least a full pause; *m m<sup>b</sup>(ex sil.)* set a comma, made to a period in *b Mr*.

[7.1] Ibi<sup>50</sup> eligantiam<sup>51</sup> sensuum, ibi raritatem coniunctionum quam in auctoribus notaueram, ibi denique<sup>52</sup> non longissimis perhiis impeditas et implicitas, at<sup>53</sup> modicis absolutas spatiis sententias inueniens amplexus sum.<sup>54</sup> [7.2] Quare, cum et ante propter opinionem uestram quam sapiente uiro dignam imbiberam<sup>T</sup>, tum precipue propter expertam mihi illius libri facundiam<sup>T</sup>, desiderauim deinceps aliquam nancisci oportunitatem ut uos praesentes alloqui possem<sup>P</sup>; ut quemadmodum uos meae paruitati uestra tum probitas tum sapientia fecerat claros<sup>P</sup>, ita me uestrae sublimitati meus et<sup>55</sup> erga uos amor et erga disciplinas studium commendaret<sup>V</sup>.<sup>56</sup>

[8.1] Neque<sup>57</sup> uero id optare desistam quamdiu ipse incolumis in hac uita uos esse cognouero<sup>T</sup>→;<sup>58</sup> quod posse contingere hoc magis in spem ducor quo ex Gallia huc in Transrhenanam concedens regionem uobis uicinior factus sum<sup>T</sup>. [8.2] Nam a praefato episcopo ad uenerabilem Rhabanum directus sum uti ab eo ingressum caperem diuinarum scripturarum<sup>P</sup>. [8.3] Ergo cum ad uos iturum hinc eius nuntium comperissem, primo quasdam uerborum obscuritates, a uobis uti elucidarentur, mittendas proposui<sup>T</sup>; deinde praestare uisum est

<sup>50</sup> From 'Ibi eligantiam', the argument changes direction, via the fulcrum of Einhard's 'opus', from Lupus's training to his accrued reasons for seeking contact with Einhard; hence, a new paragraph.

<sup>51</sup> eligantiam] *P*, elegantiam *m m<sup>b</sup> (ex sil.) b Mr*. I follow the usual spelling of *P*.

<sup>52</sup> ibi denique] *P Mr*, ibidemque *m m<sup>b</sup> (ex sil.) b*.

<sup>53</sup> at] *ante corr. P, Mr (quasi emendatum a Dümmler)*, ad *post corr. alia manu P*, ac *m b*.

<sup>54</sup> The functional dyad 'inueniens amplexus sum' sounds a peculiar change on the *cursus tardus*, with a substitution before the caesura, namely: /oo . o/oo. It is followed by a mid-set *punctus* and a *notabilior* 'Quare'.

<sup>55</sup> et] *P m<sup>b</sup> Mr*, etiam *m b*. Although correctly collated, Baluze does not take the authentic reading into *b*.

<sup>56</sup> Here, again, the *cursus uelox* of 'studium commendaret' rhythmically closes a long, involved period. *P* then shows a high-set *punctus* followed by a *notabilior* 'Neque ...' for at least a full pause; *m m<sup>b</sup> (ex sil.) b Mr* set a period.

<sup>57</sup> From 'Neque uero', the argument focuses on the present effort and means for realizing the propounded goal of securing Einhard's friendship; hence, a new paragraph.

<sup>58</sup> After the *cursus tardus* of 'esse cognouero', *P* shows a mid-set *punctus* followed by a barely *notabilior* 'quod' to signal the medial pause that makes sense; *m<sup>b</sup>* collates this precisely as 'q' (not a majuscule!), which produces *exactly* that ('cognouero. [sic] quod') in *b*, where *m* has set a comma. Marshall, under the influence of Levillain, makes 'Quod ...' begin an inapt paragraph, whose effect is to highlight the fact of Lupus's travel to Germany rather than his goal of literary friendship. The editorial prejudice is not properly Marshall's, but that of the historian, Levillain.

ut etiam hanc epistulam dirigere debuiss<sup>V</sup>↓.<sup>59</sup> [8.4] Quae si a uobis dignanter accepta fuerit, exoptabili me affectum munere gratulabor<sup>V</sup>.

[9.1] Sed<sup>60</sup> semel pudoris transgressus limitem, etiam hoc postulo, ut quosdam librorum uestrorum mihi hic posito commodetis<sup>V</sup>, quamquam multo sit minus libros quam amicitiam flagitare<sup>V</sup>. [9.2] Sunt autem hi: Tullii *De rhetorica* liber, quem quidem habeo, sed in plerisque mendosum; quare cum codice istic reperto illum contuli, et quem certiore putabam, mendosiore inueni<sup>P</sup>. [9.3] Item eiusdem auctoris de rhetorica ‘tres libri in disputatione ac dialogo *De oratore*’, quos uos habere arbitror propterea quod in breui uoluminum uestrorum post commemorationem libri *Ad Herennium*, interpositis quibusdam aliis, scriptum reperi ‘Ciceronis de rhetorica’. [9.4] Item *Explanatio in libris Ciceronis*. Praeterea A. Gellii<sup>61</sup> *Noctium Atticarum*. [9.5] Sunt et alii plures in praedicto breui quos, si Deus apud uos mihi gratiam dederit<sup>T</sup>, istis remissis accipiens describendos mihi, dum hic sum, audivissime curare cupio<sup>M</sup>.

[10.1] Exonerate, quaeso, uerecundiam meam, quae supplico facientes, meque rimantem amaras litterarum radices, earum iam iocundissimis expleti<sup>62</sup> fructibus, illo uestro facundissimo eloquio incitate<sup>V</sup>. [10.2] Quae si meruero, tantorum beneficiorum gratia, quoad uixerō, semper mihi habebitur<sup>T</sup>. [10.3] Nam quae uos eorum merito sit remuneratio secutura, non opus est dicere<sup>T</sup>.

[11.1] Plurima scribenda mihi<sup>63</sup> alia mens suggessit<sup>V</sup>. [11.2] Sed uestrum ingenium meis ineptiis ultra remorari non debui, quod scio uel exterioribus occupatum utilitatibus uel circa intimas et abditas philosophiae rationes intentum<sup>P</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> After the *cursus velox* of ‘dirigere debuiss<sup>V</sup>’, *P* shows a high-set *punctus* followed by a *notabilior* ‘Quae’ to signal a full pause. The ensuing sentence also ends in *cursus velox*, and thereby rhythmically marks the end of the first part of the letter with an emphatic repetition of this favourite closing formula.

<sup>60</sup> *P* leaves open space at the end of preceding line, and uses a large *littera notabilior* in the margin for ‘Sed ...’ and thereby distinguishes the start of the second part of the letter with its specific mendicant content. Compare ‘Carissimo ...’ at the start of *Ep.* 1.

<sup>61</sup> a. gellii] *post corr. alia manu P, m<sup>b</sup> b Mr (quasi apud P absque corr. esset), agellii ante corr. P, Dümmler*, auli gellii *m.* Baluze (in *b*, p. 343) comments that *P* renders the name as ‘A. Gellius’, but with Levillain and Marshall, he has missed that the dot after ‘a’ is by a corrector, as is also the case in the other occurrence of the name at the end of *Ep.* 5. Dümmler (or rather his collator, S. G. de Vries) took the dots in both places to be recent, but they are in brown ink, whereas the sixteenth-century notes (mostly, if not all, by Pierre Daniel) are in black.

<sup>62</sup> expleti] *P Mr*, explete *m m<sup>b</sup> (ex sil.) b.*

<sup>63</sup> mihi] *P Mr*, in *m m<sup>b</sup> (ex sil.) b.*

*Lupus of Ferrières, Letter 1: English Translation and Notes*

[1] To Einhard, most beloved sir, Lupus sends greetings.<sup>64</sup>

[2.1] I long hesitated, most esteemed of men, about whether I should dare, or not, to write to an outstanding figure like yourself.<sup>65</sup> [2.2] Among other arguments, one especially kept me from the task. I desired to gain your friendship, but it seemed possible that I would give offence by addressing you in a hasty and untoward reversal of the usual order, in which I presumed the gift of familiarity though I had not reached even the initial stage of acquaintance. [2.3] I was severely anxious on that account, but your character, which is good-natured, unassuming, and a true credit to philosophy, has given me hope of obtaining something great.

[3.1] Nevertheless, I should make some appearance of deploying an argument. You especially have dwelt upon the sentiments of secular literature concerning friendship, so I leave them aside so as not to merit in reply Horace's saying, well worn on learned lips: 'Don't carry logs to the forest.'<sup>66</sup> [3.2] Certainly, our God meant to leave no occasion for turning away friends when he enrolled among those we must love even enemies (cf. Matthew 5. 44; Luke 6. 27). [3.3] On that account, please give heed patiently and kindly while I delve deeper into my thoughts, and you will see that my effort is appropriate and not a young man's caprice.

[4.1] Love of letters took root in me virtually from the onset of childhood.<sup>67</sup> I did not shrink from the 'lofty distraction'<sup>68</sup> (as many now call it) or the quiet

<sup>64</sup> I am grateful to David Townsend for inspiring me to find an almost smooth English cadence for Lupus's challenging original.

<sup>65</sup> Lupus begins addressing Einhard in the second-person singular (*tu*, etc.), and then shifts to the second-person 'plural of majesty' (*vos*, etc., the *pluralis maiestatis*). The same phenomenon, in the same sequence and power gradient, occurs elsewhere in Carolingian letter writing, e.g. Frechulf of Lisieux's Preface to Empress Judith in his *Histories* (also c. 829): Frechulf of Lisieux, *Historiarum libri XII*, ed. by Allen.

<sup>66</sup> Horace, *Satirae*, 1. 10. 34; cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, p. 323, *silva* 1.

<sup>67</sup> 'Childhood' (*pueritia*) began with the onset of second teeth, reason, and schooling, at age seven.

<sup>68</sup> 'Lofty distraction' for *superstitiosa* (a neuter plural quasi-abstract noun). The Latin suggests both classical 'misplaced devotion' and the emergent medieval sense of 'arrogance'. A reproach of *curiositas*, connoting 'unhealthy curiosity', hovers in the background. A noteworthy analogue (in a rhetorical complaint partly about study) occurs a letter of Guy de Bazoches (d. 1203), a canon at Châlons-sur-Marne (Champagne): 'in the distracted occupation of your scholarship' ('studiorum tuorum occupatione supersticiosa'). *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochis*, ed. by Adolfsson, Letter 22, p. 84, line 27.

pursuits of literature. [4.2] A lack of teachers blocked the way, for the scholarship of earlier men had collapsed from long neglect, and teetered on the brink of oblivion. Otherwise, I might have been able, by God's bounteous favour, to satisfy my keen desire to learn.

[5.1] To be sure, within your recollection, through the efforts of the renowned Emperor Charles<sup>69</sup> — to whom literacy itself owes a duty of ensuring his eternal remembrance<sup>70</sup> — things started to be called back to life and even looked up considerably, and it was widely held that truth sustained Cicero's excellent dictum: 'Renown nourishes the arts, and all are fired to study by fame.'<sup>71</sup> [5.2] Now, those who strive to learn things are considered a burden. The ignorant routinely scrutinize each and all scholars as if they were set out on display, and attribute any fault they discern in them, not to human vice, but to the nature of learned subjects. [5.3] Thus, some, for failing to achieve the rewards that wisdom<sup>72</sup> merits, and others, for fear of undeserved notoriety, have abandoned so excellent a pursuit.

[6.1] To me it is obvious that wisdom should be sought for its own sake. [6.2] I was enjoined to pursue it by reverend Archbishop Aldric.<sup>73</sup> I acquired a teacher of grammar, and from him I learned the subject's rules. [6.3] Such was the schooling I received, since moving from grammar to rhetoric, and thence in order to the other liberal arts, is at present only a fiction. I then began to explore a little among the works of the great authors, and I found the compositions of our own age unattractive because they deviated from the weighty style of Cicero and his likes, which eminent Christians also took as their model. With that background, your book came into my hands, the one in which you recorded the aforesaid emperor's brilliant deeds — let me say so without suspicion of flattery — with utmost literary brilliance.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> That is, Charlemagne (king from 768; emperor from 800; d. 814). The general reference is to the 'renaissance' of letters and learning that he fostered.

<sup>70</sup> In the Prologue to his *Life of Charlemagne*, Einhard especially accented his *individual* indebtedness to the Emperor.

<sup>71</sup> Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, I. 4; probably via Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, v. 13, who quotes the tag unapprovingly.

<sup>72</sup> I retain Lupus's shorthand 'wisdom' (*sapientia*) for the cumulative notion of 'wisdom built upon knowledge and practice' that he intends. The single word suggests the faculty of 'taste' (as in the mastery of literate skills) and covers wisdom in a generic sense, but here looks especially to the theologically moulded practice of learned Christians who deployed ancillary, non-Christian lore and learning to enrich Christian understanding.

<sup>73</sup> Aldric (d. 836), Abbot of Ferrières (821–29), Archbishop of Sens (829–36), whose episcopal accession and death limit the dating of *Ep.* 1 to 829–36. On Aldric, see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 94–96.

<sup>74</sup> That is, Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*.

[7.1] Here finding them, I seized on the elegance of expression, on the striking syntactic couplings<sup>75</sup> I had noticed in the great authors, and finally, on how thoughts were articulated concisely, without being hindered or entangled in over-long sentences. [7.2] Thus, beforehand, since your reputation had savoured of a wise man's distinction, and then above all because of my actual experience of that work's erudition, I longed to secure some future chance to speak with you in person. Your goodness and wisdom had set you apart to an insignificance like me, and my personal devotion and zeal for learning would, I hoped, likewise find me favour with an eminence like you.

[8.1] Nor do I plan to give up desiring that so long as I am well and know you are alive, and I harbour all the greater hope of its actually happening as I have travelled from Gaul to this land 'beyond the Rhine' and am now closer to you.<sup>76</sup> [8.2] For the aforesaid bishop dispatched me to the venerable Hrabanus<sup>77</sup> to begin with him my study of Scripture. [8.3] So, when I learned that his messenger would go to you from here,<sup>78</sup> I at first proposed to send along some questions about obscure words for you to clarify; it then seemed better that I should also send this letter. [8.4] Should you graciously receive it, I shall rejoice at being favoured by a much desired gift.<sup>79</sup>

[9.1] Since I have already overstepped the limits of modesty,<sup>80</sup> I also ask this: that you lend certain of your books to me while I am here, though it is a much lesser matter to importune someone for books than for friendship. [9.2] These are the ones:<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> On *raritas coniunctionum*, see Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, *Nachträge*, p. 10 (to p. 703).

<sup>76</sup> From c. 830, Einhard was based at his monastic foundation in Seligenstadt, approximately ninety kilometers south-west of Lupus's interim abode at Fulda. On Einhard, see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 177–82.

<sup>77</sup> Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), schoolmaster and Abbot (822–42) of Fulda, later Archbishop of Mainz (847–56).

<sup>78</sup> He is referring to Fulda.

<sup>79</sup> The word 'gift' (*munus*) here echoes and prospectively resolves the opening gambit of the letter, i.e. the 'gift of familiarity' (*familiaritatis munus*).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, v. 12. 3 ('Sed tamen qui semel verecundiae fines transierit').

<sup>81</sup> Lupus prepared his requests compellingly. He collated a local text, deployed a rare description used by Cicero himself, and scoured Fulda's roster of Einhard's library. This tool was evidently meant to facilitate finding and lending between the great abbey and Einhard, himself an alumnus of its school. On the manuscript correlates of the works listed here, and generally, see Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the Transmission of Classical Texts', p. 124. Also see Gariépy, 'Lupus of Ferrières', pp. 98–100; Schipke, 'Die Handschriften des Lupus von Ferrières',

Cicero's book *On Rhetoric*,<sup>82</sup> this I possess already, but with many flaws in the text, so when I collated my copy with the one found here, what I thought would be better, I discovered was worse. [9.3] Likewise, by the same author, on rhetoric, 'the three books in disputation and dialogue *On the Orator*',<sup>83</sup> which I suppose you have, since in the roster of your library I found written 'Cicero's *On Rhetoric*', just past some other items following the mention of the *Ad Herennium*.<sup>84</sup> [9.4] Likewise, the *Commentary on the Books of Cicero*.<sup>85</sup> In addition, Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*.<sup>86</sup> [9.5] The aforesaid catalogue also lists many other books that I avidly desire to copy for myself while I am here, if God grants me favour with you and I may have them after these have been returned.

[10.1] Please relieve my embarrassment by doing what I humbly ask, and spur me on through your own learned eloquence, since you abound already in the pleasing fruits of literary knowledge, while I grub at the bitter roots.<sup>87</sup> [10.2] If I merit such great acts of kindness, I shall be ever thankful for them so long as I live. [10.3] There is, of course, no need to say what reward will come of them for you.

[11.1] Many other things I should write come to mind. [11.2] But I ought not to detain your genius further with my trifles, since I know that you, when not busy with outward good works, are occupied with the inmost subtle arguments of philosophy.

*Michael I. Allen*

Associate Professor of Classics (Medieval Latin)

University of Chicago

pp. 124–25. Lupus transcribed the requested text of Cicero's *On the Orator*, and his actual copy survives. See the facsimile in Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic*.

<sup>82</sup> He is referring to *De inventione* ('On Invention').

<sup>83</sup> The description mirrors the wording in Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, 1. 9. 23.

<sup>84</sup> The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* ('Rhetoric Manual for Herennius'), the earliest surviving Latin treatise on oratory (c. 90 BCE), formerly attributed to Cicero.

<sup>85</sup> That is, the *Explanatio in Ciceronis rhetoricam* of Marius Victorinus (fourth century CE), which comments on Cicero's *De inventione*. So Schipke, 'Die Handschriften des Lupus von Ferrières', p. 125; based on Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the Transmission of Classical Texts', p. 127.

<sup>86</sup> Aulus Gellius published his ever-popular literary miscellany in c. 180 CE. The uncorrected text of *P* suggests that Lupus shared, in his early years at least, the common belief that the author's name was 'Agellius'.

<sup>87</sup> For the proverbial gardener's imagery, cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, p. 195, *litterae* 1; Jerome, *Commentary on Jeremiah*, 1. 7. 4 (Jerome, *Opera exegetica*, ed. by Reiter, p. 8, line 62). Another Carolingian echo occurs in Alcuin, *De grammatica*, ed. by Migne, col. 852C.

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## A SANCTIFYING SERPENT: CRUCIFIX AS CURE

Herbert L. Kessler

In a very few lines in his work in progress *Interfacing with God*, Karl Morrison sets out a fundamental concept of early medieval art that has, too often, been ignored. In a characteristically sensitive and productive analysis of the two-page opening in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (823–77) in Munich (Schatzkammer der Residenz, MS *s.n.*, fols 38<sup>v</sup>–39<sup>r</sup>; Plate 1),<sup>1</sup> he puts in centre place the idea that the very act of looking at images of Christ was, itself, believed to have a curative effect. Advancing earlier important work by Robert Deshman<sup>2</sup> and Celia Chazelle<sup>3</sup> on the pairing (in the Prayer Book's sole illustration) of the humble Charles and pictured Crucifixion, Morrison teases out from the asymmetrical pictures a dynamic interplay between the two kings, earthly and celestial. In turn, he examines the empathy the images elicit in the reader/viewer (originally Charles himself) who looked at the 'diptych' and read the words of the titulus: 'Christ, you dispelled the world's crimes on the Cross, Release me, as I pray, from all my wounds.'<sup>4</sup> Underlying the pictures and brief text, Morrison shows, is the notion found in Hrabanus Maurus, Remigius of Auxerre (c. 841–908), and others of Christ as the 'perfect physician'. In this contribution, I wish to expand Morrison's observations by examining the trope of Moses' brazen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, v, 75–87. The precise date and localization remain somewhat open. The reference to Charles's wife Hermintrude (married 842, died 869) provides a quarter-of-a-century parameter; Soissons or Compiègne have been suggested for the place of origin.

<sup>2</sup> Deshman, 'The Exalted Servant'.

<sup>3</sup> Chazelle, 'An *Exemplum* of Humility', and Chazelle, 'Crucifixes and the Liturgy'.

<sup>4</sup> *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, III. 2, 243: 'In cruce qui mundi solvisti crimina Christe | Orando mihimet tu vulnere cuncta resolve.'

serpent that underlies the Munich 'diptych', the scriptural reference to a divinely ordained 'sculpture' that had been entered into image debates already in the eighth century and that was subsequently deployed to reinforce more general claims about art's capacity to heal.

That Christ was a doctor was not a new idea. From the very beginning, depictions of the Saviour, who in his life on earth had repeatedly demonstrated divine power by curing the sick and maimed, were patterned on portraits of Serapis and Aesclepius,<sup>5</sup> as on the so-called polychrome sarcophagus in the Terme Museum in Rome. In turn, during the Carolingian period, Aesclepius was fashioned after Christ, for instance, in a herbal in Kassel (Landesbibliothek und Murhadsche Bibliothek, MS Phys. et hist. nat. 10, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Figure 1),<sup>6</sup> which shows the ancient *medicus* sitting on a globe throne and passing his prescriptions on to new doctors, like Christ in the *traditio legis* pictured on a mid-ninth-century ivory book cover in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 323; Figure 2).<sup>7</sup>

In the Prayer Book, Christ's curative power is conveyed, not through the assimilation of the god of medicine, however, but rather by means of a reciprocity generated in the act of looking at a material image — first the King is depicted looking at the Crucified and then the viewer actually examines the paired miniatures. The interplay between the King in full regalia shown humbled on his knees and the naked Saviour being crowned with a wreath, which Morrison discusses with great eloquence, is furthered in a startling way by the wounds on Christ's chest, painted as rings of red dots that can only be seen as counterparts to the ornament on the magnificent tunic that covers Charles's own torso (Plate 2). This rendering of the Saviour's wounds as precious ornament is extended to the nails that pierce his hands and feet, which are painted in gold. In other words, not only the looking but also the very materials of the object generate a reciprocal movement.

The parallel between kingly adornment and the marks of Christ's suffering is found also in Carolingian writings. Theodulf of Orléans (c. 750/60–821), for instance, claimed that

[Christ retained his wounds after the Resurrection so] that the elect might never stop to render praise, as long as they see, O passion, your marks, and seeing in his cruel punishment their salvation, in his descent to hell their ascent to heaven; that by his death, their own life might be rich in all things, and by his thorns golden crowns be given them.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, pp. 30, 109, 135, 173.

<sup>6</sup> *Medicina medievale*, ed. by Firpo.

<sup>7</sup> Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1, no. 71, p. 37, plates 71a, 71b.

<sup>8</sup> Theodulf of Orléans, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, p. 466, lines 25–30: 'Tertio, ut electi



Figure 1. *Aesclepius* (Landesbibliothek und Murhadsche Bibliothek, MS Phys. et hist. nat. 10, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>). Photo: Kassel, Landesbibliothek.

And Jonas of Orléans (c. 760–841) deployed the trope in his refutation of Claudius of Turin (fl. 810–27):

For the bodies of the martyrs are precious, because they received wounds for God and because the stigmata of Christ were impressed on their limbs; and as a king's crown, decorated everywhere, emits variegated brightness, so too the bodies of the holy martyrs, like the brilliance of jewels, receiving for the wounds of Christ all the precious things of a king's crown. And they reflect more brightly.<sup>9</sup>

Tellingly, Jonas incorporated the argument within the context of the image disputes that had engaged Carolingian theologians in the wake of Byzantine iconoclasm.

In the Munich Prayer Book, the play on Christ's ornamented flesh is mapped onto the book itself. Painted on the only folios in the book that are stained purple, the facing pictures are framed in gold adorned with pearls, as is the King's cape; and Charles's crown penetrates into the lines of the titulus, themselves inscribed in gold on red parchment. Already in the first surviving manuscript illuminated for Charles's grandfather Charlemagne, gold letters written on red-stained vellum were interpreted in terms of Christ's suffering and the redemption it provided:

The golden letters were written on pages painted purple.  
They reveal the celestial realm through the red-coloured  
blood of God and the shimmering joys of the starry heaven,  
and the Word of God, glimmering in the majestic lustre,  
promises the sparkling reward of eternal life.  
See, the divine precepts decorated with the colour of roses  
demonstrate that the gifts of the martyrs should be accepted;  
the pure virginity of the heavenly dwellings,  
are produced through the glow of the costly yellow gold and  
through the glittering silver.

desistant reddere nunquam | Laudis opus, tua dum, passio, signa vident | Eius et altra suam  
cerventes flagra salutem | Ad Styga concursus eius ad astra suos | Eius morte suam pollere per omnia  
vitam | Et tribui spinis aurea serti sibi; *Quamobrem cicatrices, quas Dominus in passione suscepit,  
in resurrectione obductae non sint.* Theodulf of Orléans, 'The Poetry', trans. by Alexandrenko,  
pp. 89–91. See also Waddell, *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Jonas of Orléans, *De cultu imaginum*, ed. by Migne, col. 328: 'Pretiosa enim sunt martyrum corpora, quoniam plagas pro Domino susceperunt, et quia stigmata propter Christum membris suis impressa ferunt; et sicut corona regalis, undique decorate, fulgores varios emittit, ita et sanctorum martyrum corpora, sicut pretiosis lapidibus, exceptis pro Christo vulneribus distincta, omni regum diademate pretiosiora spectabiliora redduntur.'



Figure 2. *Traditio legis* (ivory book cover; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 323). Photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

So the doctrine of God, written in precious metals, leads  
 those following the light of the Gospels with a pure heart  
 into the shining halls of the kingdom flowing with light,  
 and sets those who climb above the high stars of heaven's vault  
 in the bridal chamber of the king of heaven forever.<sup>10</sup>

Through reference to Christ's divinity invested in his flesh, the very materials of the manuscript's sole image thus, themselves, engage the viewer in a process of transforming rich ornament and colour into a curative contemplation of the Divinity.<sup>11</sup>

The serpent set against a clump of earth beneath the Cross and turning up towards Christ reinforces the theme of art's therapeutic power implied by the play between Charles's earthly riches and Christ's wounds. A Carolingian innovation that was to become widespread in later representations of the Crucifixion, the snake vanquished by Christ's death on the Cross may, in fact, have been introduced first in this very picture painted around the middle of the ninth century. (The sole contender for priority is the initial *O* in the Drogo Sacramentary (BnF, MS lat. 9428, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>) which dates from 845–55.<sup>12</sup>) A counterpart to the wound in Christ's chest towards which Charles directs his gaze, the snake's open mouth — the orifice through which humankind had been seduced to disobey God — is a reminder of the original sin that made the Saviour's life-giving death necessary. And, as the lower end of the axis topped by the gemmed wreath extended by the Hand of God (another new feature together with the sun and moon), it serves to establish Christ's body as the channel from earth to heaven, much in the manner of Theodulf's words 'in his descent to hell their ascent to heaven'.

The snake taps into lore transmitted in the Latin *Physiologus*, which describes Satan as the largest of all serpents; indeed, it has an analogue in the depiction of

<sup>10</sup> *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, 94–95: 'Aurea purpureis pinguntur grammata scedis, | Regna poli roseo pate — sanguine — facta tonantis | Fulgida stelligeri promunt et gaudia caeli, | Eloquiumque dei digno fulgore choruscans | Splendida perpetuae promittit praemia vitae. | En precepta dei decorate colore rosarum | Munera martyrii demonstrant esse capenda, | Candida virginitas caelorum cara colonis | Auri flaventis specie hortatur habenda, | Argentique figuratur splendore micantis | Vita maritorum cunctis concessa iugalibus. | Sic doctrina dei pretiosis scripta metallis | Lucida luciflui perducit ad atria regni | Lumen evangelii sectantes corde benigno, | Scandentesque poli super ardua sidera celsi | Collacat in thalamo caelorum regis in aevum.' Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, II, 49–55; Brenk, 'Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr.'; Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar*; Lafitte and Denoël, 'L'Évangélaire de Charlemagne'.

<sup>11</sup> Kessler, "Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile verum".

<sup>12</sup> Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, III, 143–62; Chazelle, 'An Exemplum of Humility'.

the salamander-serpent in a *Physiologus* in Bern (Bern, Burgerbibl., Cod. 318, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>; Plate 3),<sup>13</sup> illuminated at Reims about the same time the Prayer Book was being produced, which illustrates the belief that the serpent's poison was detoxified by the *peridexion*, a tree understood to symbolize Christ and believed to render believers immune to the devil.<sup>14</sup> The cross in the Prayer Book should be interpreted in the same way, namely, as the instrument that not only neutralizes Satan's toxic bite but that also fully vanquishes the evil seducer, a notion conveyed also by the double entendre in the caption of *vulnera*, as sins and wounds.

In iconography, where one double entendre leads, others tend to follow. There is indeed a greater double entendre, for, in one of iconography's surprising convergences of opposites, Charles's illumination displays an asymmetrical pairing of serpents. With his foot extended and hands raised up to the Lord, the King mimics the serpent's pose, whose tail drops below the frame at the right and whose mouth is turned upward. In a sense, the King replaces Adam's skull beneath the Cross on Golgotha, which may first have been introduced into depictions of the Crucifixion at just this very moment, as, for instance, in the Angers Gospels (Paris, Bibl. municipale, MS 24).<sup>15</sup> Indeed, a late tenth-century gilt cover of a book box in Säckingen actually merges the prong of the cross with the tree of paradise and represents the serpent wrapped around it with Adam and Eve at either side.<sup>16</sup> The prostrated King strives to rise up to the Lord, as does the serpent, though for opposite motives, the King embodying in his very person the effort to rid himself of humankind's sins, the convoluted serpent weighed down by his evil.

One other aspect of the illumination is even more telling because, as Morrison has recognized, it unlocks the significance of the particular act in which Charles is engaged. The miniature featuring the cross and serpent alludes to the brazen serpent that Moses had raised up in the desert, with power to cure those Israelites who had 'sinned against the Lord' but had retained faith in God even when they had been struck down by poisonous snakes 'so that when a snake had bitten a man, he could look at the bronze serpent and recover' (Numbers 21. 6–9). John the Evangelist had cited the episode from Hebrew Scripture as a type of Crucifixion: 'as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have eternal life' (3. 14). Hewing close to John's text, the Church Father Ambrose (c. 334/40–397)

<sup>13</sup> Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, VI, 172–82.

<sup>14</sup> *Physiologus*, trans. by Curley, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, fig. 390.

<sup>16</sup> Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband*, pp. 116–18.

had already noted: 'Like the serpent, on the cross, Christ poured his healing medicine on the wounds of man. Wherefore the Lord himself says: As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up.'<sup>17</sup>

Christ is the healing serpent, antidote to Satan the death-bearer. Here is the equation found in the two-page opening in Charles's Prayer Book, not only of lethal physical illness and spiritual death through sin but also of the gazing at a material image and being cured by it.

Augustine (354–430) brought together the several themes later found in the Carolingian painted diptych in a number of influential texts, including the *De trinitate* and *In Iohannem tractatus*, 12; to quote the latter:

What are the biting serpents? Sins, from the mortality of the flesh. What is the serpent lifted up? The Lord's death on the cross. For as death came by the serpent, it was figured by the image of a serpent. The serpent's bite was deadly, the Lord's death is life-giving. A serpent is gazed on that the serpent may have no power. What is this? A death is gazed on, that death may have no power. But whose death? The death of life: if it may be said, the death of life [...] Meanwhile brethren, that we may be healed from sin, let us now gaze on Christ crucified [...] Just as they who looked on that serpent perished not by the serpent's bites, so they who look in faith on Christ's death are healed from the bites of sins. But those were healed from death to temporal life; while here He says, 'that they may have everlasting life'. Now there is the difference between the figurative image and the real thing: the figure procured temporal life; the reality, of which that was the figure, procures eternal life.<sup>18</sup>

During the iconoclastic period, opposing sides cited the account of Moses' brazen serpent as a key proof-text that God had, in fact, authorized the use of material representations in Christianity. Defending the veneration of sacred images, the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 invoked the brazen serpent as evidence for

<sup>17</sup> Ambrose of Milan, *De officiis ministrorum*, ed. by Migne, III. 15 (col. 171): 'Qui quasi serpens exaltatus in cruce, medicinam vulneribus infudit humanis. Unde et ipse Dominus ait: Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis.'

<sup>18</sup> Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Willems, XII. 11 (p. 127): 'Quid sunt serpentes mordentes? peccata de mortalitate carnis. Quis est serpens exaltatus? mors Domini in cruce. Quia enim a serpente mors, per serpentis effigiem figurata est. Morsus serpentis lethalis, mors Domini uitalis. Adtenditur serpens, ut nihil ualeat serpens. Quid est hoc? Adtenditur mors, ut nihil ualeat mors. Sed cuius mors? Mors uitae: si dici potest; Mors uitae [...] Interim modo, fratres, ut a peccato sanemur, Christum crucifixum intueamur [...] Quomodo qui intuebantur illum serpentem, non peribant morsibus serpentum, sic qui intuentur fide mortem Christi, sanantur a morsibus peccatorum. Sed illi sanabantur a morte ad uitam temporalem: hic autem ait, *ut habeant uitam aeternam*. Hoc enim interest inter figuratam imaginem et rem ipsam: figura praestabat uitam temporalem; res ipsa cuius illa figura erat, praestat uitam aeternam.'



Plate 1. *Charles the Bald Praying before the Crucified Christ*  
 (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, MS *s.n.*, fols 38<sup>v</sup>–39<sup>r</sup>). Photo: Fotothek, Munich,  
 Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen.

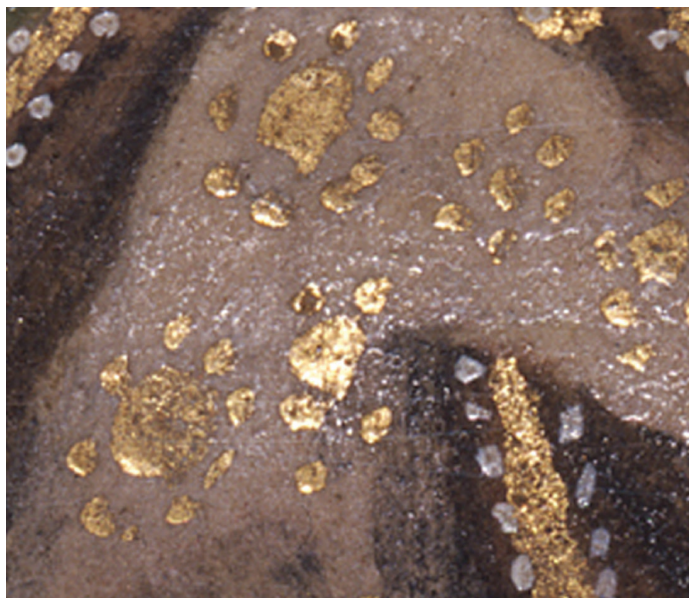


Plate 2a. Detail of Plate 1: Tunic of King Charles.

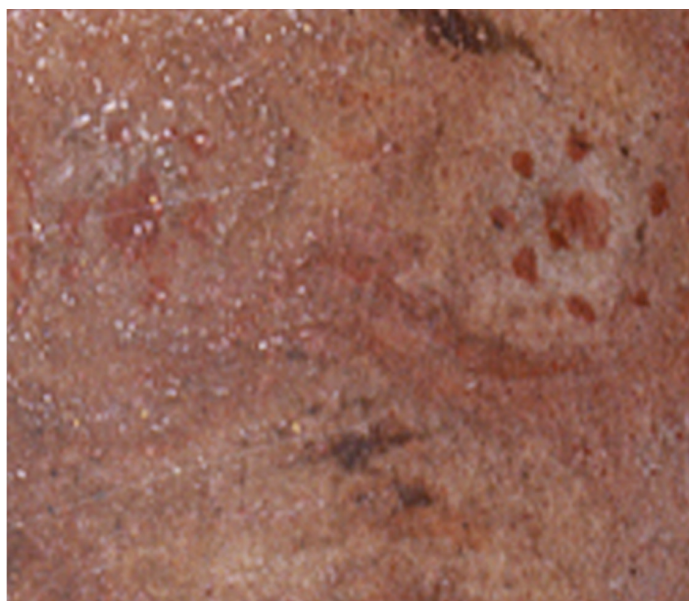


Plate 2b. Detail of Plate 1: Chest of Christ.



Plate 3. *Salamander-Serpent* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 318, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>).  
Photo: Bern, Burgerbibliothek.



Plate 4. *Crucifixion* (Maskell Casket, London, British Museum).

Photo: British Museum.

faith in the divine sanction and proven efficacy of icons, closing the gap between the Old Testament type and the Gospel realization it foreshadowed, and hence, for post-Scriptural worshippers, the gap between God's historical action long before and themselves looking at depictions of the Crucifixion and salvation: 'We believe that gazing at the brazen serpent freed the Israelites from disaster, should we doubt that looking at and venerating pictures of Christ our Lord and his saints might save us?'<sup>19</sup>

As early as the 790s Theodulf of Orléans had devoted a whole chapter to Moses' serpent in his tract against images known as the *Opus caroli* (*Libri carolini*), arguing, among other things, that the true meaning of Moses' raising up of the snake in the desert is to be found in John's Gospel, which implies that salvation is found in things not seen. He scoffed:

As much as they say that they [the Council of Nicaea] expect to be saved by looking at images, in the same way that Israel was saved by looking on the brazen serpent, if any ailment befall their bodies, let them take themselves to their images and gaze upon them; and then, when they find they get no benefit thereby, let them return to the Lord and expect salvation from him alone, by the intercession of his saints; for he is the only author of all our life and health.<sup>20</sup>

And later Walahfrid Strabo (c. 808–49), while recognizing the dangers of venerating images, both included the brazen serpent in his defence of painting and sculpture and remembered its ultimate fate:

The bronze serpent which Moses made by the Lord's command was not to be despised — in fact, when bites by real snakes were healed by gazing on the image of a snake, because the people (always prone to idolatry) worshipped it afterwards with a kind of superstitious awe, we read that Hezekiah, a very devout king of Judah, destroyed it.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XII, col. 1064.

<sup>20</sup> *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, ed. by Freeman, I, 18 (pp. 191–92): 'Iam vero quia se imaginum inspectione salvandos credunt, sicut serpentis inspectione Israheliticus populus a serpentibus morsibus sanabatur, si qua forte eis quaedam corporis inclementia accesserit, recurrant ad imagines easque aspiciant, quatenus dum illarum inspectione minime sanati fuerint, revertantur ad Dominum et per sanctorum intercessionem ab eo sanitatem se accepturos credant, qui totius sanitatis et vitae auctor.' That depictions of the crucified Christ were, in fact, seen as serpents is documented only later, in the twelfth-century *Sefer Milhamot Ha-Shem* of Jacob ben Reuben (cf. Bland, *The Artless Jew*, pp. 137–40) and in the sixteenth century by Folengo, *La umanità del figliuolo di dio*, ed. by Ravedati, pp. 142–43. I owe the latter reference to Christopher Nygren.

<sup>21</sup> Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis*, ed. by Harting-Correa, pp. 78–79. 'Serpens aeneus, quem ex iussu Domini Moyses fecit, contemnendus erat, quippe cum percussus a veris

With ideas sharpened by such disputes as that between Claudius of Turin and Jonas of Orléans, Charles the Bald's illumination held to the earlier theology of Augustine and a point of view akin to that of the Second Council of Nicaea. Contemplating the *imaginarii serpentis* (the serpent image) is the antidote for the poison of the *veri serpentis* (the true serpent).<sup>22</sup> The reference to the brazen serpent, in this way, imparted to the diptych in Charles's Prayer Book both the notions of healing through faith in Christ and also the claims of image theory itself, according to which looking at the material representation could have the effect of curing.

Indeed, it may have been to reinforce the healing potential of images of the crucified Christ against just such criticism as Theodulf's and such ambiguities as Walahfrid's that Carolingians came to introduce serpents into depictions of Crucifixions like Charles the Bald's, thereby clarifying the medicinal potential through allusions to the Fall of Adam and Eve, the image of the serpent raised in the desert that healed the believers who looked at it, and Christ's victory over the beastly devil — all within an image of Christ's redemptive Cross, itself an apotropaic device.<sup>23</sup> There was ample weight in Frankish thought, and in their Anglo-Saxon antecedents, for this point of view.

Bede (672/73–735) cited Moses' image in his *De templo* (c. 730) among other apparent contradictions of the prohibition of images in the Mosaic commandment that he found in Scripture:

For if it was permissible to raise up the brazen serpent on a tree that the Israelites might live by looking at it, why is it not permissible that the exaltation of the Lord our Saviour on the Cross whereby he conquered death be recalled to the minds of the faithful pictorially, or even his other miracles and cures whereby he wonderfully

*serpentibus imaginarii serpentis contemplatione sanarentur, quem, qui populus semper in idolatriam proclivis postmodum quadam superstitiosa veneratus est religione, Ezechias rex Iuda religiosissimus legitime confregisse.*

<sup>22</sup> The association of the material representation and Old Testament typology was enacted in the liturgy. According to the *Ordo romanus antiquus*, when clerics genuflected before the cross on Good Friday, they declared: 'God, you who ordered your servant Moses to lift up a brazen serpent [...] for the purpose of delivering those souls infected by lethal venom, so that whoever there was who had been afflicted by a death-bringing wound, might look to it, and evade that deadly venom, and gain the life of longed-for health; signifying you yourself far in the future, when for the health of your creature, you would be lifted up on the gibbet of the cross: so that he whom the devil will have captured with the weapons of envy, your desirable suffering might recall to his homeland, grant as to me miserable and a sinner, so to all whom you purchased with your blood, who today as suppliants venerate your holy passion and adore the tree of life, that we may escape with your help the snares of the devil, and merit to be participants in eternal life.'

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Kessler, 'Evil Eye(ing)'.

triumphed over the same author of death, since the sight of these things often tends to elicit great compunction in the beholders.<sup>24</sup>

A caption ascribed to Alcuin (c. 735–804), the great link between Bede and the Franks, likewise underscores the idea of medical cure and salvation while engaging the reader/viewer directly:

Behold the brazen serpent who heals the people's wounds  
Now, you sinner, look at it with a devout mind.<sup>25</sup>

True to this intellectual lineage and closer to Charles the Bald, Hrabanus Maurus recognized the potential in his Homily 72 on the passage from John:

For, as a matter of fact, sins are expressed through the serpents, which bring death in their wake, of the soul and the body, not only those of fire, of virulence, of death, but truly through a serpent our first parents were led to sin, and sinning passed from immortality to mortality. Truly, through the brazen serpent the Lord is shown who came in the form of a sinner. Because, just as the brazen serpent is an image, so, too, it is like the serpent of death, but not directly in the members does he have the noxious poison, or more the striking; he was cured by the serpents in his exaltation; for just as there is no doubt that the Redeemer of humankind suffered death on the Cross, not having the flesh of a sinner, but wearing the image of a sinner's body, believing in him will free from all sin and from death.<sup>26</sup>

In the Prayer Book, Charles's physical contortions replicate both Satan's twisted form and, yet more deeply, because in human form, the Saviour's. The allusion to the snake hoisted up in the desert is realized directly in the twisted body of

<sup>24</sup> Bede, *De templo*, ed. by Hurst, bk II (pp. 212–13): 'Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in ligno quem aspicientes filii Israhel uiuerent, cur non licet exaltationem domini saluatoris in cruce qua mortem uicit ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci uel etiam alia eius miracula et sanationes quibus de eodem mortis auctore mirabiliter triumphauit cum horum aspectus multum saepe compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus et eis quoque qui litteras ignorant quasi uiuam dominicae historiae pandere lectionem?'

<sup>25</sup> 'Aeneus en serpens populi qui vulnera sanat | nunc tu peccator aspice mente pia' (Arnulf, *Versus ad picturas*, p. 149); discussed by Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *Homiliae*, ed. by Migne, col. 285: 'Recte etenim per serpentes peccata, quae animam simul et corpus ad interitum trahunt, exprimuntur, non solum quia igniti, quia virulenti, quia ad perimendum sunt statuti, verum etiam quia per serpentem primi parentes nostri ad peccandum persuasi, ac de immortalibus sunt peccando mortales effecti. Recte per serpentem aeneum Dominus ostenditur qui venit in similitudinem carnis peccati. Quia sicut aeneus serpens effigiem quidem ignitis serpentibus similem, sed nullum prorsus in suis membris habuit ardorem veneni nocentis, quin potius percussos, a serpentibus sua exaltatione sanabat: sic nimirum sic Redemptor humani generis non carnem peccati, sed similitudinem induit carnis peccati, in qua mortem crucis patiendo, credentes in se ab omni peccato et ab ipsa etiam morte liberaret.'

the Saviour himself, his knees jutting out to the left and his legs and upper torso turned the other way. Like the serpent beneath the cross, the sinuous posture may occur here for the first time, the Drogo Sacramentary again being the main contender for priority. The tortuous Christ replaces the type of the crucified Lord passed down from Late Antiquity and found, for example, on the Maskell Casket of about four hundred (London, British Museum [1856,0623.4]; Plate 4),<sup>27</sup> with its static frontal pose, a type well known during the ninth century, for instance, in manuscripts of Hrabanus Maurus's influential meditation on the Cross, *In honorem sanctae crucis*.<sup>28</sup> Paired with Charles's contemplative posture shown at the left, Christ's figure also conveys the idea in John's Gospel that Christ fulfilled the prophetic image of Moses' healing serpent hanging on a post.<sup>29</sup> As Hrabanus Maurus declared in the *De universo*: "The *serpent* is Christ, as in the book of Numbers, "Make for yourself a serpent of bronze", because Christ came in the likeness of the flesh of a sinner, but did not have the poison of sin."<sup>30</sup> He went even further at the very opening of his *In honorem sanctae crucis*: 'He became a sanctifying serpent, an illustrious mediator, | Worm and man; He who is life has carried off his prey to the Enemy.'<sup>31</sup> Haimo of Auxerre (d. c. 855) perpetuated the trope of Christ as sanctifying serpent;<sup>32</sup> and the idea is articulated as well

<sup>27</sup> Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, pp. 82–83; Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, pp. 329–32.

<sup>28</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Perrin, pp. 26–32.

<sup>29</sup> On the meanings of serpentine poses, cf. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, pp. 82–83, 411–14, and Jolly, *Made in God's Image?*, pp. 44–45, 61–63.

<sup>30</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De universe libri XXII*, ed. by Migne, col. 233: 'Serpens Christus propter sapientiam, cujus figuram serpens ille aereus gerebat, quem Moyses in ligno suspendit, cujus intuitu percussi a serpentibus sanabantur.'

<sup>31</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Perrin, Carmen 1, figura 1 (p. 28): 'Serpens sanctificans, illustris fit mediator: | Vermis homo isque, retraxit ab hoste et vita rapina.' See also Hrabanus's elucidation of the poem, p. 32. Explaining the various names of Jesus (e.g. 'lamb', because of his innocence and 'lion', because of his kingship and strength (*fortitude*)), he wrote: 'Serpens, pro morte et sapientia. Et vermis idem, quia resurrexit.'

<sup>32</sup> Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliarum*, ed. by Migne, cols 583–84: 'Factaque est mira res, et antea inaudita. Mordebantur a serpentibus, aspiciebant serpentem, et sanabantur. Aenei ergo serpentis exaltatio Domini passionem praefiguravit, qui exaltandus erat cruce, sicut in praesenti loco dignatus est exponere. De qua ipse alibi ait: "Si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum." Nec cuilibet indignum videri debet, id est Dominus per assumptam humanitatem serpenti comparetur; quia ipse per Prophetam de seipso loquitur: "Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis." Et sicut in septuaginta interpretibus legitur, scarabaeus clamabat de ligno, id est Christus de cruce. Sicut enim serpens ille similitudinem habebat ignitorum serpentium, sed tamen a veneno serpentium alienus erat: sic Dominus Jesus

on a late Carolingian book cover in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 9383) which features a Crucifixion in ivory framed by a bejewelled gilt frame inscribed 'Christ, the pious sacrifice, restored on the cross | what the serpent fiercely destroyed through his evil mischief.'<sup>33</sup> No serpent is actually pictured there; the *pia victima* (pious sacrifice) himself replaces it.<sup>34</sup>

By mimicking the snake's sinuosity, Christ's body engages the Lord's dual nature, enabling those looking at the image (in the first instance, Charles) to ascend from the world of flesh and suffering to the eternal realm, but only if they have faith. Like the Israelites in the desert, Christian believers are led by images of the Crucifixion into what Morrison has called 'a hermeneutic double game' in which the wounded Saviour heals the sinner and the sanctifying serpent offers an antidote to the poison of original sin. As Augustine had explained, 'Just as they who looked on that serpent perished not by the serpent's bites, so they who look in faith on Christ's death are healed from the bites of sins.'

Underlying these various manifestations is the fundamental homeopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur* (like afflictions are cured by like medicines) or its converse, which would have been confirmed by the use in actual medical practice of snake toxins to cure poison. In his discussion of remedies and medications in the *Etymologies*, for instance, the encyclopaedist of post-Roman Europe,

Christus apparuit in similitudine carnis peccati, nullam tamen maculam traxit peccati. Aeneus autem dictus est serpens propter infinitam in Christo aeternitatem. Aes autem durable est metallum, et valde sonorum, et natura aeternitatis nec initium habuit, nec finem habebit. Vel quia aes rubicundum habet colorem, aeneus dictus est serpens, propter pretiosi sanguinis effusionem. Igniti autem serpentes, quorum morsibus homines peribant, venenosas cogitationes et mortificeras persuasiones significant. Quae, cum delectationem perversam usque ad consensum perducant, quasi pungendo animam interimunt. Nam et primi parentes nostri in paradiso serpentis astutia sunt decepti. Miro ergo ordine contra serpentem ponitur serpens, quia per hoc quod Dominus pro nobis passionem sustinuit, antiqui serpentis caput contrivit. Quicumque ergo originalis peccati punctione, vel cujuscunque vulneris contagione vult sanari, intueatur serpentem in stipite, id est, confiteatur Christum in cruce, et hunc crucifixum. Cumque tali fide armatus crucifixerit membra sua cum vitiis et concupiscentiis, non solum a mortis periculo liberari, sed etiam ad vitam pervenire merebitur aeternam. Unde et subditur: "Ut omnis qui credit in ipso, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam." "Omnis enim", ait Scriptura, "quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit, sicut ipse Salvator in Evangelio ait: 'Qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivet. Et omnis qui vivit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum.' Ille autem vere credit, qui sic vivit sicut Christus praecipit. Qui autem confitetur verbis, sed factis eum negat, non vitam meretur, sed poenam. Quia, sicut ait Jacobus apostolus: 'Fides sine operibus mortua est.' Et iterum: 'Tu credis quod unus sit Deus? Bene facis, et daemones credunt, et contremiscunt.'"

<sup>33</sup> 'In cruce restituit XPS, pia victima factus | Quod mala fraus tulerat, serpentis preda ferocis' (Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband*, pp. 110–11).

<sup>34</sup> Ferber, 'Crucifixion Iconography'.

Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), noted that ‘antidote means “derived from the opposite” in Latin, for opposites are cured by opposites’, but then immediately cited what seems to be the contrary example of like healing like: ‘an antidote made from snakes expels venom, so that poison is resolved by poison.’<sup>35</sup>

Likewise, only by becoming a man and dying could Christ redeem humankind’s sin that had brought death into the world. In turn, contemplating the serpent subdued by the new serpent neutralizes poisons, both physical and spiritual. Haimo of Auxerre expressed the idea clearly when he wrote:

I was therefore awestruck by the arranging of a serpent placed alongside a serpent, because through this the Lord endured suffering for us, crushing the head of the ancient serpent. Therefore, whoever wants to heal the sting of original sin or the infection of the wounds, look at the serpent on the tree, that is, acknowledge Christ on the cross being crucified. Whosoever is armed with faith crucifies his limbs with vice and desire, is freed not only from the danger of death, but merits to be led to eternal life.<sup>36</sup>

But how was the cure effected by looking at the crucifix actually understood to work? Depictions of Christ’s salvific death were meant to serve as instruments for eliciting compassion, the emotional response to the Saviour’s agonizing death, as Bede had already recognized. The contemplation of a pictured Crucifixion engaged the faithful in a reciprocal process of examining the human image of Christ and considering the divinity behind it. An object of interpretation, of the sort that Morrison has distinguished from objects of feeling, in this instance, came to depend for its effectiveness on the eliding of this very distinction between decoding exegetical iconography and empathetic response. Through the pictures and words, a person with pure faith is able to move through the human form seen in a painted image to the divinity he or she carries within, that is, to reconcile what Augustine doubted could be assimilated, namely the ‘difference between the figurative image and the real thing: the figure procured temporal life; the reality, of which that was the figure, procures eternal life.’ In the Carolingian

<sup>35</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, ed. by Migne, iv. 9 (col. 193): ‘Nam antidotum Graece, Latine “ex contrario datum” dicitur. Contraria enim contrariis medicinae ratione curantur. At contra ex similibus [...] antidotum serpentinum, quo venena pelluntur, ut pestis peste solvatur.’

<sup>36</sup> Homily 108 (*In octava Pentecostes*), ascribed to Haimo of Halberstadt (d. 853); Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliarum*, ed. by Migne, col. 584: ‘Miro ergo ordine contra serpentem ponitur serpens, quia per hoc quod Dominus pro nobis passionem sustinuit, antiqui serpentis caput contrivit.’

period, once again, it was Hrabanus Maurus who put the idea most clearly into words as he concluded one of his discussions of image veneration: 'Death is signified by the serpent and eternity by the bronze; clearly, in order to proclaim death through his humanity, and at the same time his divinity in the bronze.'<sup>37</sup>

Hrabanus recognized that what allowed the 'beholding of an image of the Passion of the Son of God' to function in this way was precisely the kind of dynamic process that is evoked by the diptych in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald. The interrogation of the material image involves a kind of diagnosis needed before a cure can be prescribed, that is, a visual examination of 'symptoms' with the goal of discovering a cause. On the first round, Charles discovers that Christ, through his death on the Cross, had 'dispelled the world's sins'. Then he realizes that, as a part of the world, he is himself wounded and can only be cured by praying to Christ. The interaction is supported graphically by the play of decoration, the gold ornament on Charles's regalia that gets refashioned as Christ's wounds — the red marks on his chest, the opening in his side, and the golden nails. As Morrison put it (referring to Remigius of Auxerre), 'the encounter between a sick person and a physician [involves] two actions, the turning of the wounded to the healer and the healer to the sick'. Worldly splendour (including art itself), the looking at what the painted image asserts, is nothing; humankind's redemption comes only through Christ's sacrifice and beneficence.

It is instructive in this context to note that medical practice was being transformed in much the same way at the very moment that the new curative crucifix was being introduced, from a doctor-centred process inherited from Antiquity to a consultative, dialogic procedure. Thus, the prologue *Quodmodo visitare debeas infirmum* in medical manuals, apparently composed about the ninth century, emphasizes the importance of questioning and touching and especially looking at the patient before reaching a judgement about treatment. 'Do not visit every sick person with a single criterion', the short tract begins, 'but on the contrary, if you wish to learn honestly, listen. [...] because when you will be informed of all things, it will be easy to discover the cause of the illness and not difficult in finding a cure for it.'<sup>38</sup> To examine the image of King Charles contemplating the

<sup>37</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in librum sapientiae libri III*, ed. by Migne, col. 746: 'Dominus et in serpente mortuus et in aere significaretur aeternus; videlicet ut indicaretur mortuus per humanitatem, et tamen esset quasi aeneus propter divinitatem.' Hrabanus was incorporating Isidore of Seville's commentary on the book of Numbers: Isidore of Seville, *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum*, ed. by Migne, col. 355.

<sup>38</sup> 'Mox qui ingredieris ad infirmum interroga eum si quid forsitan dolet; et si tibi dixerit eo quod aliquid dolet, item require ab eo si fortis est dolor an non: est assiduus an non; postea

suffering Christ is to participate in the reality of the event depicted; and it is that empathetic participation that leads to a cure.

Here, we touch upon the revolutionary originality of Carolingian art more generally, its dynamic of self-discovery that Morrison so brilliantly analysed in “‘Know Thyself’: Music in the Carolingian Renaissance’ and other writings.<sup>39</sup> Contemporaries of the fifth-century ivory plaque in which the Crucifixion first appeared, Caesarius of Arles (468/70–542), for instance, and Augustine, had rejected any such function for art, the former asserting that ‘paintings made on walls appeal only to the human and not to the spiritual eye’<sup>40</sup> and the latter stating emphatically: ‘For a picture is looked at in a different way from that in which a writing is looked at. When you have seen a picture, to have seen and praised it is the whole thing; when you see a writing, this is not the whole, since you are reminded also to read it.’<sup>41</sup>

Like much Carolingian art, the miniature in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald turns the claim on its head, implying that a picture is a ‘whole thing’ only when it is read as well as seen, that is, only when a viewer projects into the pictured action his or her own behaviour. In this it is like prayer itself, evoked in the titulus; as Smaragdus of St Mihiel (c. 760–c. 840) explained (extending Ambrose’s formula), compassionate tears elicited by praying to the crucified Christ are a healing medicine.<sup>42</sup> So, too, the image of the crucified Christ can

tenes ei pulsum, et vides si febrit an non. [...] et inspicias utrasque partes et vide si periculum forsitan sit illis [...] Quoniam cum haec omnia requisieris facile ejus causas agnoscis et cura tibi difficilis non videtur.’ See *Collectio Salernitana*, ed. by de Renzi and others, II, 73; Kouzis, ‘Das Fragment *Quo modo debes visitare infirmum*’. Cf. Troncarelli, ‘Un pietà più profonda’. The dating of this tract and related Greek treatises is complicated; cf. Paolo of Nicaea, *Manuale medico*, ed. and trans. by Bio, pp. 15–17. See also Guillen, ‘The Ethics of Diagnosis in Early Christianity’.

<sup>39</sup> Morrison, “‘Know Thyself’”.

<sup>40</sup> Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 114: ‘Nec tabulae pictae adfigi, nec in parietibus vel camaris ulla pictura fieri debet: quia in monasterio, quod non spiritalibus, sed humanis tantum oculis patet.’

<sup>41</sup> Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Willems, XXIII. 5 (p. 245): ‘Aliter enim uidetur picture, aliter uidentur litterae. Picturam cum uideris, hoc est toutum uidisse, laudasse; literas cum uideris, non hoc est totum, quoniam commoneris et legere.’

<sup>42</sup> Ardo Smaragdus, *Commentaria in regulam Sancti Benedicti*, ed. by Migne, chap. 20 (col. 840): ‘Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrymarum ubertate exaudiri credit. Non enim longae orationis prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat. Orandum ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus veniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infundit medicinam: salus mundi aeterna, Christus Jesus Dominus noster.’

cure the faithful and humbled viewer of carnal and moral wounds through empathy with the Saviour's suffering, made necessary because of humankind's sin and made possible when God assumed the serpent's flesh and again sanctified it with his divine nature.<sup>43</sup>

*Herbert L. Kessler*  
Professor of the History of Art  
Johns Hopkins University

<sup>43</sup> The notion of art as prophylaxis, so inventively developed during the Carolingian period, was played out in later medieval art; see Kessler, 'Christ the Magic Dragon'. It had an important afterlife during the Renaissance as well, for example, in Bronzino's chapel of Eleonora of Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; see Cox-Rearick, *Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio*, pp. 124–26 and 228–29; Edelstein, 'Bronzino in the Service of Eleonora di Toledo'; as a foundation for the Holy Face at the centre of the chapel's dome, the brazen serpent bears on the origins of Christian art and, as Edelstein showed, it also played a medical role.

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## Part III

### Assimilations of Empathy into Theology



## INDWELLING: A MEDITATION ON EMPATHY, PREGNANCY, AND THE VIRGIN MARY

Barbara Newman

From the standpoint of metaphysics, the most important word in the New Testament is the preposition *in*. Cleansed of the rust of familiarity, that two-edged sword carves strange, mystic diagrams. Metaphysical as always, John's Jesus declares, 'I am in the Father and the Father in me' (John 14. 11). And again, 'You will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you' (John 14. 20). 'Abide in me', he commands, adding a promise — 'and I in you' (John 15. 4). 'The glory which thou hast given me I have given to them', Christ tells his Father, 'that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me' (John 17. 22–23). Neck and neck with the Evangelist, the apostle Paul proclaims, 'it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives *in me*' (Galatians 2. 20). Those in whom Christ lives, or who live 'in the Spirit', are no longer *in* the flesh, although they have not yet died (Romans 8. 9–11). *In* Christ, wherever that may be, 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female' (Galatians 3. 28). 'In him all things were created', Paul or his disciple tells the Colossians, echoing Solomon's hymn to Sophia, 'and in him all things hold together' (Colossians 1. 16–17). The secret of salvation, 'the riches of the glory of this mystery, [...] is Christ in you' (Colossians 1. 27).<sup>1</sup>

What can we make of this mysterious *in*? Old Testament prophets turn *to* God, walk *with* God, and speak *for* God, but they are not *in* God.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the

<sup>1</sup> The Greek preposition in all these passages is *en*. The Vulgate uses *in* with the ablative, that is, 'dwelling in' rather than 'moving towards'.

<sup>2</sup> Expressions of divine intimacy with individuals in the Old Testament include Genesis 5. 24 ('Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him'); Deuteronomy 34. 10 ('there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face');

idea sounds faintly blasphemous, though God does at times put his Spirit *in* them. But to be *in* Christ is a different matter, for while it is inimical to the flesh, it has everything to do with the body. 'You are the body of Christ', Paul says, 'and individually members of it' (1 Corinthians 12. 27). What is more, if we 'are one body in Christ', then we are also 'members one of another' (Romans 12. 5). For Christians the mystery of empathy, the capacity to feel with or for another, is rooted in the same enigmatic *in*: we can suffer *in* one another because *in* Christ, we are 'members one of another'.

Much of Christian metaphysics, anthropology, and ethics can be read as a commentary on this deceptively simple *in*. Therein lurks a distinctive view of the self — or better, the *person* — that has little to do with the 'subject' of Foucauldian history, the plural self of postmodernism, or the autonomous, unitary self of the Enlightenment. The mysterious Christian self that we encounter in the pages of Paul and John is not fractured, or rationally self-contained and self-interested, or oppressively summoned into being by the state. Rather, this self is one whose personhood entails living not only *with* but *in* other persons. The personal is, by definition, the interpersonal — and the model for such a self is none other than the Holy Trinity. All Christian anthropology rests on the foundational doctrine of the *imago Dei*, but as Trinitarian theology reminds us, the divine Self imaged in the human is supremely permeable. In the writings of the Cappadocian fathers, the three persons of the Trinity are said both to share a common essence and to 'indwell' one another reciprocally, a doctrine known by the technical names of *perichoresis* in Greek, *circuminsessio* in Latin, and in English, *co-inherence*.<sup>3</sup> In the incarnation, the two natures of Christ co-inhere so completely in the God-man that divine attributes can be ascribed to the man Jesus, and human traits to the Godhead (the so-called *communicatio idiomatum*). That is why Gospel paraphrases could refer to Jesus in his Passion as quite simply and matter-of-factly 'God'. When he took flesh, the Son of God — or some would devoutly if heretically say, the whole Trinity — came to dwell in Mary's heart, as well as her womb,<sup>4</sup> while Mary continued to dwell (like all creation) in the mind of God.

Co-inherence, or indwelling, is not only a theological doctrine, but the ground of a particular medieval form of selfhood. Even in the Middle Ages, this kind of self was never the dominant construct, yet it stands as a persistent counterweight

1 Samuel 13. 14 ('the Lord has sought out a man after his own heart' (David)); and 1 Kings 3. 12 ('I give you a wise and discerning mind, so that none like you has been before you and none like you shall arise after you' (Solomon)).

<sup>3</sup> Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, pp. 282–301.

<sup>4</sup> For the whole Trinity as present in Mary, see Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, pp. 269–73.

to the more familiar model of the morally and rationally independent soul.<sup>5</sup> The permeable self appears at the liminal junctures and imagined endpoints of personal history: we see it in representations of erotic love, and sometimes even in erotically charged relationships between teacher and student, confessor and penitent.<sup>6</sup> It occurs again in depictions of mystical union as well as demonic possession, in attempts to imagine the souls of the blessed or the bodies of the damned. With its fluid boundaries, this permeable self is at once radically centred and alarmingly penetrable. The breach of bodily and spiritual boundaries entailed in co-inherence is profoundly ambiguous, for it could be experienced as either communion or invasion, either the fulfilment or the destruction of personal identity. In exploring this idea of selfhood, I have found two modern points of reference invaluable. One is the oeuvre of Charles Williams, that remarkable English poet, theologian, and novelist of the mid-twentieth century, whose work as a lay spiritual director led to the founding of an informal religious order, the Companions of the Co-inherence.<sup>7</sup> The other is Karl Morrison's book on empathy, *I Am You*, which analyses the polarity between 'amorous' and 'malevolent' sympathy in a magnificently wide-ranging study of Western culture from Augustine to Thomas Mann.<sup>8</sup> Since we are all one another's students, I here rededicate to Karl the remarkable words he cites from Augustine on pedagogy. Our students, the master writes, 'are affected while we are speaking and we are affected while they are learning. We dwell in one another; and, thus, it is as though they speak in us what they hear, and in them we learn after some fashion what we teach.'<sup>9</sup>

In this essay I will explore one privileged metaphor of indwelling as it is worked out in mystical theology. Charles Williams ended his 'short history of the Holy Spirit in the Church' with an observation about pregnancy, a subject on which Church historians usually have little to say.

<sup>5</sup> For a now-classic debate on medieval selfhood, see Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual*, and Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?'. On the self in moral philosophy, see Dewan, *Wisdom, Law, and Virtue*; Cunningham, *Reclaiming Moral Agency*; and Kent, *Virtues of the Will*. On 'person' as a category in medieval literature, see Fowler, *Literary Character*. For selfhood in devotional texts, see Bryan, *Looking Inward*.

<sup>6</sup> Riché and Verger, *Des Nains sur des épaules de géants*; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*; Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*.

<sup>7</sup> Newman, 'Charles Williams and the Companions of the Co-Inherence'. Important studies include Hadfield, *Charles Williams*; Cavaliero, *Charles Williams*; Huttar and Schakel, *The Rhetoric of Vision*; and Ashenden, *Charles Williams*.

<sup>8</sup> Morrison, *I Am You*.

<sup>9</sup> Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, ed. by van den Hout and others, XII. 17 (p. 141); cited in Morrison, *I Am You*, p. 40.

At the beginning of life in the natural order is an act of substitution and co-inherence. [...] The child for nine months literally co-inheres in its mother; there is no human creature that has not sprung from such a period of such an interior growth. [...] It has been the habit of the Church to baptize it, as soon as it has emerged, by the formula of the Trinity-in-Unity. As it passes from the most material co-inherence it is received into the supernatural.<sup>10</sup>

Pregnancy is the only circumstance in which one human being physically dwells in the body of another. For this reason it has inescapably coloured descriptions of spiritual indwelling, even if pre-feminist scholarship took little notice of the image. Far more than hitherto acknowledged, the metaphor of pregnancy underlies our theological language for both mystical union and the Trinity. Mystical indwelling, in turn, provides yet another way to account for the central place of Mary in Catholic devotion.

In Neoplatonic thought, the divine mind is the womb of creation, the seed-bed of the Ideas, in which the exemplars of all created beings reside. Mystics of many stripes have understood this 'virtual' or 'pre'-existence in God as the soul's *most real* existence, whereby it remains permanently united with God before, during, and after its span of embodiment on earth. In pagan Neoplatonism, the locus of the exemplars is the *Nous*, or divine mind, while in the Jewish Platonism of Philo (20 BCE–50 CE), this mind is called Wisdom or Sophia, a name that in Christian thought becomes equivalent to the Logos.<sup>11</sup> This 'second God' or, in Christian terms, second person of the Trinity, dwells with and in the first person. The Johannine prologue says the Word is *with* God from the beginning, yet also *is* God. In the Old Testament, God the 'Father' tells his Son, 'In the splendour of the holy ones, I bore you from the womb before the morning star.' If that verse sounds unfamiliar, it is because I have quoted it from the Vulgate text of Psalm 109, following the Septuagint. Neither the Hebrew version nor modern versions say anything remotely similar. Yet it was Jerome's inspired verse that supplied the liturgy with its powerfully expressive gradual for the midnight Mass of Christmas: 'In splendoribus sanctorum ex utero ante luciferum genui Te.' *Genui* modified by *ex utero* must be translated as 'I bore', not 'I begot'. Hence, it is figuratively God the Mother who speaks, and like every divine action, her 'bearing' of the Son is qualified with eternity. So, if we ask why this chant should be sung at Christmas, a mystic might answer thus: Mary's pregnancy not only makes God the Son visible, but manifests the timeless pregnancy of God within

<sup>10</sup> Williams, *The Descent of the Dove*, p. 234.

<sup>11</sup> Mack, *Logos und Sophia*. Philo's influence on early Christian thought was considerable. See Berchman, *From Philo to Origen*, and Runia, *Philo and the Church Fathers*.

time and space. In bearing Christ from her own womb, she imitates the divine, eternal Mother, as believers consequently imitate her. Mary's swelling womb thus provides a visual, corporeal analogue for the mind of God and the heart of the believer — a parallel invoked by theologians from Clement of Alexandria in the second century through Meister Eckhart and beyond. Moreover, in becoming mother of the Word, Mary becomes after God the mother of all creation, since all creation dwells in the Word.

It is small wonder that this cosmic Mother provides the Christian tradition with its supreme model of empathy. Gerard Manley Hopkins puts it brilliantly in his 'May Magnificat':

All things rising, all things sizing  
Mary sees, sympathising  
With that world of good,  
Nature's motherhood.

Their magnifying of each its kind  
With delight calls to mind  
How she did in her stored  
Magnify the Lord.<sup>12</sup>

In the high Middle Ages, the heyday of affective spirituality, Mary's empathy with her Son furnished a model for all believers. Learning to identify with the Virgin Annunciate, the Virgin Mother at Bethlehem, and the Sorrowful Mother on Calvary was a first course in piety for multitudes.<sup>13</sup> So, before I turn to the cosmic *imitatio Mariae* in mystical theology, I would like to consider a more poignant, if amusing, *imitatio Mariae* in the life of a little-known saint.

Blessed Ida of Leuven was a Cistercian nun of the mid-thirteenth century, whose *vita* was written around 1300.<sup>14</sup> According to this text, Ida's Eucharistic ecstasies often compelled her to 'languish with love' after receiving communion. At one point in her life, she came to be suspected of pregnancy because a certain friar visited her so frequently in her seclusion and sickness. Even after her innocence was vindicated by a medical test, Ida would not be consoled, but wept bitterly in prayer until 'there appeared to her a little boy, as lovely as could be and more comely than words can tell, right there in her arms'.<sup>15</sup> Like Mary, Ida

<sup>12</sup> 'The May Magnificat', stanzas 7–8, in Hopkins, *Poems and Prose*, ed. by Gardner, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*; McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*.

<sup>14</sup> *Vita venerabilis Idae virginis*. The *vita* is anonymous. For more on Ida, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 117–23, 229–34.

<sup>15</sup> *Vita venerabilis Idae virginis*, II. 21 (p. 176): 'Ecce puerulus, admodum gratiosissimus et

had been falsely suspected of unchastity, so she also receives Mary's reward: even without being pregnant, she gets to caress the adorable infant. In the next chapter of her *vita*, Ida falls into ecstasy at Mass on the birthday of John the Baptist, and in her vision Mary lets her bathe and swaddle the Christ child. But when the Virgin tells her it is time to give the baby back, Ida refuses, engaging in a pious tug of war with the Mother of God throughout the canon of the Mass. At last Mary wins and escapes to heaven with her child, so Ida comes out of ecstasy just in time to adore the elevated host. A third supernatural event then brings her full circle. After Ida receives communion on another feast, the sacred host she has just consumed causes her body 'to expand and spread, on account of the spiritual repletion that she was experiencing', as if she were about to burst — or indeed, as if she were pregnant.<sup>16</sup> Exhausted, she makes her way back to the infirmary where the whole tale began. Ida's *Life*, consisting almost entirely of Eucharistic miracles, shows how easily a nun with an active imagination could pass back and forth between host and child, between the sacramental Christ filling her soul and a simulacrum of pregnancy distending her body. In 'becoming Mary' through interaction with the divine child, Ida bridges the gap between what she is outwardly, a devout virgin, and what she knows herself to be in spirit, a mother of God.

The theme of 'becoming Mary' receives more figurative but no less prominent expression in mystical theologies of indwelling. I have chosen three examples out of many: Hadewijch of Brabant, Meister Eckhart, and Julian of Norwich. All are Neoplatonic in different ways, and all are profoundly Trinitarian. For Hadewijch, a Flemish beguine who flourished around the same time as Ida, the rhythm of Christian life is predicated on imitation of the Trinity.<sup>17</sup> She understands the Trinity of persons to co-inhere in a dynamic relationship with the divine Unity, such that the Son and the Holy Spirit constantly go forth from the Father in an outbound movement of emanation or procession, and return to oneness in a cen-

supra humanam aestimationem omni pulcritudinis elegantia decoratus, inter brachia flentis et orantis apparuit.' *Ida the Eager of Louvain*, trans. by Cawley, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> *Vita venerabilis Idae virginis*, III. 10 (p. 184): 'Percepto namque reverendi Corporis sacramento, [...] extemplo corpus illius ex spirituali repletionem, quam intrinsecus in animo sentiebat, adeo delectari coepit extrinsecus et extendi; [...] corpusculum beatae feminae, nimiae repletionis impatiens, ut sibi videbatur, eo temporis sub momento citissime crepuisset, nisi divinae virtutis et potentiae ligamine circumseptum.' *Ida the Eager of Louvain*, trans. by Cawley, p. 78.

<sup>17</sup> Important studies include Hesler, 'Stufen der Minne bei Hadewijch'; Breuer, 'Philologische Zugänge zur Mystik Hadewijchs'; Mommaers, 'Hadewijch: A Feminist in Conflict'; Bouyer, *Women Mystics*, pp. 25–35; Ruh, *Frauenmystik und Franziskanische Mystik*, pp. 158–225; Milhaven, *Hadewijch and her Sisters*; and McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, pp. 200–22 and 416–25.

tripetal movement of fruition or union. Just as the Son and the Spirit proceed from the Father into the world, entering creation in active love, compassion, and service, the soul, too, must proceed from God into exile, serving him in the active life with virtues and works of mercy. This is the outward movement, the way of emanation. In the inward movement, the way of contemplation, the soul imitates the return of the three persons into the One. In and with the Son of God, she is devoured by the sublime, insatiable abyss that is the Father, drawn inexorably by the power of *Minne*, or Love.<sup>18</sup>

Hadewijch finds many ways to describe this pattern, which is practically embodied in a rhythm of active service alternating with periods of contemplative rest. She sometimes calls the active phase 'living the Son of God' or 'serving the Humanity', while the contemplative phase is defined as 'living the Father' or 'being God with God'. What the soul is *required* to do in the outbound movement, that is, tirelessly practice all virtues, she is *forbidden* to do in the unitive phase. Thus, Hadewijch writes:

When anyone seeks Love and undertakes her service, he must do all things for her glory, for during all this time he is human and needy; and then he must work chivalrously in all things, be generous, serve, and show mercy, for everything fails him and leaves him in want. But when by fruition man is united to Love, he becomes God, mighty and just.<sup>19</sup>

Hadewijch herself 'became God', she says, on Ascension Day four years before writing this letter. After receiving God's kiss at the elevation of the host, she was exalted with Christ into the divine Unity, as 'the Father took the Son to himself with me and took me to himself with the Son. And in this Unity into which I was taken and where I was enlightened, I understood this Essence and knew it more clearly than [...] anything that is knowable on earth.'<sup>20</sup> This is consum-

<sup>18</sup> See especially Letter 17, 'Living in the Rhythm of the Trinity', and Letter 30, 'Answering the Demand of God's Trinity and Unity', in Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, pp. 82–84 and 116–20.

<sup>19</sup> Letter 17, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 84; Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Ortmanns-Cornet, p. 110: 'Alse men Minne soeket ende hare dient, dan moetmen alle dinc doen om hare ere; want alle die wile es men mensche ende behovende; ende dan moetmen te allen dinghen scone werken ende onnen ende dienen ende ontfermen, want hem ghebreck alles ende behoebet. Mer in ghebrukene van Minnen es men God worden moghende ende gherecht.'

<sup>20</sup> Letter 17, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 84; Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Ortmanns-Cornet, pp. 110–12: 'Dit wert mi verboden, dies was te Ascentien, iiij. jaer, van Gode den Vader selve, in dien tide dat sijn Sone comen was ten outare. [...] Daer nam hi hem over mi ende mi over hem. Ende in die enicheit daer ic doen in ghenomen was ende verclaert,

mate indwelling in its unitive phase, where the soul dwells perfectly in God. But we must bear in mind that 'becoming God' does not represent the endpoint of Hadewijch's mystical path. Rather, it is the furthest point she attains on the arc of an ever-moving pendulum, which must now swing back just as far in the opposite direction. The furthest point on the outbound phase is exile and complete abandonment by God, such as Christ experienced on the Cross. This oscillation is perpetual, for it is grounded in the inner life of the Trinity.

If the contemplative soul can be said to dwell in the Father, then the Son and the Spirit dwell in the active soul, for co-inherence is always reciprocal. One way to practice the outbound movement of love, the phase of 'living the Son', is to imitate Mary, the God-bearer. Hadewijch tells her young beguines that if they still lack the ecstatic fruition they desire, it is because they are not yet perfect in virtues. When beginners have only the outward appearance of humility and charity, she writes, 'we do not carry God's Son maternally or suckle him with exercises of love. We have too much self-will, and we want too much repose, and we seek too much ease and peace.'<sup>21</sup> But if we cannot yet live the Son because of our spiritual immaturity, we can grow into greater maturity by living the Mother. In one of her visions, Hadewijch speaks of a 'secret heaven, which is closed to all those who never were God's mother with perfect motherhood, who never wandered with him in Egypt or on all the ways, who never presented him where the sword of prophecy pierced their soul, who never reared that Child to manhood and who, at the end, were not at his grave.'<sup>22</sup>

To be 'God's mother with perfect motherhood' means to cultivate devotion to Christ through empathy with Mary. In one of her poems, Hadewijch prescribes *imitatio Mariae* as a spiritual exercise for those who need to acquire humility. Mary's pregnancy is the place to begin:

If you were willing to fall thus and to bow in all things,  
You would obtain perfect Love.

daer verstondic dit wesen ende bekinde claelikere dan men met sprekene ocht met redenen  
ocht met siene inghe sake, die soe bekinleec es in ertrike, bekinnen mach.'

<sup>21</sup> Letter 30, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 119; Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Ortmanns-Cornet, p. 216: 'Daer om en draghen wi den Gods Sone niet moederleke, noch en soghene niet met oefeninghen van minnen. Wi hebben te vele wils ende wi willen te vele rasten ende soeken te vele ghemacs ende vredes.'

<sup>22</sup> Vision 13, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 297; Hadewijch, *Das Buch der Visionen*, ed. by Hofmann, p. 138: 'Sich hier den nuwen verlorenen hemel die besloten es vore al die ghene die nie moeder gods der volcomenre dracht en waren, Nochne doelden met hem in egypten. Noch alle weghe Nochne presenteerden hem daer der prophecien swert dore die ziele ghinc, ende dat kint niet manne soegden, Noch ten inde niet te sinen graue ne waren.'

For that brought God down into Mary,  
 And he would yet acknowledge the same in one  
 Who could hold himself so humble in love:  
 He could not refuse his sublimity to him,  
 But such a one would receive him and carry him for as long  
 As a child grows within its mother.<sup>23</sup>

For nine months, the devotee should identify with the pregnant Virgin, concentrating on a different virtue each month. The first month is for faithful fear, the second for joyful suffering, the third for self-control, and so forth until the ninth month, in which ‘wisdom engulfs | All that it loves in love’ and the child is brought to term.<sup>24</sup> In the act of giving birth to the Word, ‘the soul lives for God with all power’ so that ‘its whole life becomes divinized’.<sup>25</sup> Thus it is perfected in the active life of virtues — until it is time for the pendulum to swing once more.

Meister Eckhart probably did not know Hadewijch’s works directly, but the famous Dominican was deeply influenced by vernacular beguine spirituality.<sup>26</sup> Eckhart not only preached on the birth of the Word in the soul, but made it one of his signature teachings.<sup>27</sup> He lays even more stress on indwelling: for him, too, the soul and all beings exist eternally in the Godhead before time and forever.<sup>28</sup> Real union with God is thus prior to the temporal and in a sense illusory separation

<sup>23</sup> ‘Poems in Couplets’, 14, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 346; Hadewijch, *Mengeldichten*, ed. by Van Mierlo, 14. 39–46 (p. 66): ‘Wildi dus vallen ende in allen nighen, | So suldi volmaecte minne ghecrighen. | Want dat haelde gode neder in marien, | Ende mettien seluen soude hi noch lien, | Die hem so neder in minne const hebben: | Hine mocht hem sine hoecheit niet ontssegghen, | Hi soudenne ontfanen ende draghen tghetal | Also een kint in zynre moeder volwassen sal.’ The generic ‘he’ for the soul is Hadewijch’s usage.

<sup>24</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 349; Hadewijch, *Mengeldichten*, ed. by Van Mierlo, 14. 133–34 (p. 69): ‘Wijsheit slint | Al dat si in minnen mint.’

<sup>25</sup> Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 349; Hadewijch, *Mengeldichten*, ed. by Van Mierlo, 14. 146–49 (p. 70): ‘Daer men met allen in allen sinnen | Gode dus leeft met alre macht, | Jn nuwe minne, dach ende nacht. | So werdet god al datmen leuet.’

<sup>26</sup> For affinities between Hadewijch’s and Eckhart’s thought, see Murk-Jansen, ‘Hadewijch and Eckhart’.

<sup>27</sup> See Kertz, ‘Meister Eckhart’s Teaching’, and on the background of this theme, Rahner, ‘Die Gottesgeburt’.

<sup>28</sup> The most authoritative treatment of Eckhart in English is McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart*. Other important studies include Ancelet-Hustache, *Master Eckhart and the Rhineland Mystics*, trans. by Graef; Lossky, *Théologie négative et connaissance de Dieu chez Maître Eckhart*; Grundmann, ‘Die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik’; and Caputo, ‘Fundamental Themes in Meister Eckhart’s Mysticism’.

from him that constitutes life as a creature. Since Eckhart employs the very word *God* as a relational term in opposition to creatures, he can even say of himself that he exists *before* God, that is, before the 'one single One' became many, inaugurating the plurality of God-and-creatures through the act of creation. Eckhart dares to assert in the same sermon that he is above God, meaning that *in his pre-created state* of unity with the Godhead, he transcends the multiplicity of beings implied by the relational term *God*.<sup>29</sup> Such statements were obviously dangerous in a world haunted by inquisitors. But I want to stress that some of the most heretical-sounding utterances about mystical union or 'becoming God', such as those of Eckhart and his ill-fated contemporary, Marguerite Porete, turn out on closer scrutiny to be statements about indwelling. Despite their flamboyantly paradoxical language, mystics who proclaim that 'I am God' are not usually boasting of their personal spiritual attainments, but asserting a metaphysical doctrine, namely, that the difference between 'God' and the soul that eternally dwells in God is formal, not absolute. It is only when auditors confuse the 'I' that has 'become God' with the individual ego that the utterance takes on a blasphemous tone.

Because of his insistence on the identity of God's ground with the ground of the soul, Eckhart avoids the kind of erotic language that would suggest two ultimately distinct lovers yearning for union. 'God and I, we are one', he states; but, as in the Trinity, oneness does not preclude co-inherence: 'In knowing, I accept God into myself; in loving, I go into God.'<sup>30</sup> Having no interest in what he disparagingly called 'ways' to God, Eckhart expresses neither empathy for the suffering Christ nor special affection for Mary.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the Virgin Mother and the metaphor of birthing remain central as theological rather than devotional themes. For Eckhart, *every* soul is born of the Father along with the Son, and the mature soul in turn gives birth to the Son. In his sermon on the text of the Annunciation, 'Ave, gratia plena' (Luke 1. 28), Eckhart speaks of Mary only in passing before he turns to his real theme, which is that '*we* must be an

<sup>29</sup> This is the famous Sermon 52 on poverty of spirit, thought to be an homage to Marguerite Porete. Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, II, 486–506; translation in Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, pp. 199–203. See also Colledge and Marler, "Poverty of the Will".

<sup>30</sup> Sermon 6, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 113: 'Got und ich wir sint ein. Mit bekennenne nime ich got in mich, mit minnenne gân ich in got.' Translation modified from Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 188.

<sup>31</sup> Sermon 5b, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 91: 'Wan swer got suochet in wise, der nimet die wise und lât got, der in der wise verborgen ist.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 183: 'Whoever is seeking God by ways is finding ways and losing God, who in ways is hidden.'

only son whom the Father has eternally begotten. When the Father begot all created things, then he begot me, and I flowed out with all created things, and yet I remained within, in the Father.<sup>32</sup> Despite his use of the masculine term *Father*, Eckhart's metaphor is actually one of birthing rather than begetting, for the perpetual flowing-forth from God demands a simultaneous remaining-within, as in a womb. This eternal birthing does not depend on our will. In fact, it can even take place against our will and without our knowledge: 'God bears his Only-Begotten Son in you, whether you like it or not. Whether you are sleeping or waking, he does his part.'<sup>33</sup> Our part, in turn, is to 'be Father and give birth to him of whom I am born.'<sup>34</sup>

The meaning of this 'birth of the Word within the soul' becomes clearer in Eckhart's two sermons on Martha and Mary (Luke 10. 38). Reversing the whole history of exegesis on that text, Eckhart argued in his Sermon 86 that Martha, who bustled about serving Jesus and his friends, actually displayed greater spiritual maturity than her sister Mary, who sat at Christ's feet and listened to his words.<sup>35</sup> Mary, still a novice in the spiritual life, needed to pass through a phase of pure contemplation, yet she remained too attached to the 'sweet consolation and delight' she drew from Christ's presence. But the older, more experienced Martha had achieved such stability in virtue that she could serve in the active life without losing her groundedness in God. On Eckhart's unconventional reading, Martha asks Mary to help her not out of resentment, but in order to break her sister's addiction to 'sweetness'. When Jesus reminds Martha that 'one thing is needful' (namely God), he is not reproaching her, but reassuring her that Mary will outgrow her present immaturity and attain the same detachment and freedom that Martha already has. In other words, the active life of virtue, practiced with true detachment, is superior to the contemplative life so long as the latter remains beautiful but barren. Eckhart gives the same lesson a mystical reading in

<sup>32</sup> Sermon 22, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 376: 'Hier inne ist ze verstände, daz wir sîn ein einiger sun, den der vater ewicliche geborn hât. Dô der vater gebar alle crêatûren, dô gebar er mich, und ich vlôz ûz mit allen crêatûren und bleip doch inne in dem vater.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 193 (emphasis added).

<sup>33</sup> Sermon 22, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 387: 'Got gebirt sînen eingebornen sun in dir, ez sî dir lieb oder leit, dû slâfest oder wachest, er tuot daz sîne.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, pp. 195–96.

<sup>34</sup> Sermon 22, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 382–83: 'Daz ich vater sî und geber den, von dem ich geborn bin.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 194.

<sup>35</sup> Sermon 86, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, III, 481–92; trans. in Meister Eckhart, *Teacher and Preacher*, ed. by McGinn, Tobin, and Borgstadt, pp. 338–45.

his Sermon 2, where the language is quite different but the message is parallel.<sup>36</sup> Mary and Martha once again stand for contemplation or purity (figured as a virgin) and active service or fruitfulness (figured as a wife). Here, too, Eckhart's ideal is the mature Christian who, like Christ's virgin mother, has learned to combine the two states. A person who can pray, preach, cook dinner, clean house, or do whatever else may be needed while remaining totally detached and grounded in God — not distracted by creatures or attracted by pleasures or deflected by pain — has achieved the status of a virgin wife, which is far nobler than mere virginity.

Eckhart begins his sermon with an odd trick of translation. 'Jesus entered into a town and a certain woman (*mulier quaedam*) named Martha received (*excepit*) him into her house.' In his German paraphrase, the *mulier* becomes 'a virgin who was a wife' ('einer juncvrouwen, diu ein wîp was'), and the verb for 'received' (*empfangen*) also means 'conceived'. This wordplay is central to Eckhart's point. The virgin soul is a person without possessiveness, as 'empty and free and maid-only' as Jesus himself. Unlike those who are 'married' in a negative sense, the virgin has not become so attached to her own good works or devotions that she is no longer free to wait on God's will, moment by moment. But although this virginity is needful and good, fertility is better. Indeed, 'wife is the noblest word one can apply to the soul, much nobler than *virgin*'.<sup>37</sup> Like Martha, such a soul daily brings forth the fruit of action without losing detachment. It is only this 'virgin who is a wife' that conceives/receives Jesus from the Father, and in this way she bears fruit 'a hundred or a thousand times' every day. Eckhart specifies that the 'fruit' of such a soul is not simply virtue or good works, but the only-begotten Son himself, who is born in the soul anew every time she is united with God. Moreover, 'from that same ground where the Father is bearing his eternal Word, from that ground is she fruitfully bearing with him'.<sup>38</sup> This birth takes place in the 'little town' (*castellum* or *bürgelin*) which is the deepest ground of God and the

<sup>36</sup> Sermon 2, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 24–45; trans. in Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, pp. 177–81. For fuller analysis, see Schürmann, *Meister Eckhart*, pp. 9–47; and Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife*, pp. 145–55.

<sup>37</sup> Sermon 2, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 27: 'Wîp ist daz edelste wort, daz man der sêle zuo gesprechen mac, und ist vil edeler dan juncvrouwe.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 178. Eckhart alludes to a long-standing debate initiated by the minnesinger Walther von der Vogelweide (d. c. 1230) as to which term, *vrouwe* ('lady') or *wîp* ('wife'), more greatly honoured women.

<sup>38</sup> Sermon 2, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 31: 'Ûz dem selben grunde, dâ der vater ûz gebernde ist sîn êwic wort, dar ûz wirt si vruhtbaere mitgebernde.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 179.

soul, from which the eternal Word eternally proceeds. In short, every time a person performs a just act without attachment, he both *is* the Son and *bears* the Son. Eckhart's language for such souls is either indifferent to gender or consciously subverts it, since the soul as virgin wife is identified now with the Father, now with the Son, now with Martha, now with Mary as Virgin Mother.<sup>39</sup>

This gender-bending is a trait Eckhart shares with Hadewijch, but his mysticism is more serene than hers. For Hadewijch, even perfected love is turbulent, since the inner life of the Trinity swirls and rages with the madness (*orewoet*) of love. As long as she remains on earth, the soul has a stormy life, alternately 'living the Son' in exile and 'living the Father' in fruition. For Eckhart, too, the divine life by which the Trinity emanates from the Unity is an eternal dynamic process of birthing, bubbling, or boiling (*bullitio*), in which the soul also participates. Yet for the mature soul, the 'virgin who is a wife', there are no oscillating phases because action and contemplation co-inhere. Or, to put it differently, emanation and return are simultaneous; the soul at the same time gives birth to the Son and breaks through to the ground.<sup>40</sup> Eckhart in this way asserts both radical unity and radical co-inherence. Given his preference for abstract, apophatic language, we should not expect to find him expressing any form of empathy that borders on sentimentality, and indeed he does not. His ethical outlook is closer to the Buddha's 'compassion for all sentient beings' than it is to that of Ida of Leuven, for example. Yet abstraction must not be mistaken for coldness. Eckhart speaks in the first person surprisingly often, and it is disarming to read that, on his way to preach Sermon 22 on the Annunciation, he 'was thinking that I did not want to come here because I would become wet with tears of love'.<sup>41</sup>

Tears of love seem native to the visionary Julian of Norwich, who developed her profound theology of indwelling in a more affective key.<sup>42</sup> Like the Continental mystics, she takes it as an axiom that the soul dwells in God, God in the soul. In one of several hermeneutic directives to her readers, she notes explicitly that the first and last of her sixteen showings display the two reciprocal aspects of this

<sup>39</sup> Sells, 'The Pseudo-Woman and the Meister', pp. 132–40.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife*, pp. 154–55.

<sup>41</sup> Sermon 22, Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. by Quint, I, 385: 'Allez leit und allez liep daz kumet von minne. Ich gedâhte underwegen, dô ich her solte gân, ich enwolte niht her gân, ich würde doch naz von minne.' Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Sermons*, ed. by Colledge and McGinn, p. 195.

<sup>42</sup> Studies include Clark, 'Nature, Grace, and the Trinity in Julian of Norwich'; Jantzen, *Julian of Norwich*; Nuth, *Wisdom's Daughter*; Baker, *Julian of Norwich's 'Showings'*; Bauerschmidt, *Julian of Norwich and the Mystical Body Politic*; and Abbot, *Julian of Norwich*.

truth.<sup>43</sup> In the first, she perceives that ‘God [...] hath us all in himselfe beclosede’ — a standard teaching of Christian Platonists. Yet Julian, deeply attuned to the ‘homeliness’, or intimate familiarity, of the divine, says nothing about the ‘mind of God’. Rather, she elaborates this idea in the most concrete physical terms: ‘as the body is clad in the cloth, and the flesh in the skinne, and the bones in the flesh, and the harte in the bowke [chest], so ar we, soule and body, cladde and enclosedde in the goodnes of God.’<sup>44</sup> The last showing complements this image with a vision of Christ dwelling in the soul: ‘In middes of that citte sitteth our lorde Jhesu, very God and very man: a fair person and of large stature [...] And I saw him clothed solemply in wurshippes [honours]. He sitteth in the soule even righte in peas and rest [...] for in us is his homeliest home and his endlesse wunning [dwelling].’ The metaphor, like the doctrine, is reciprocal. In the first, ontological vision, God is our clothing, while in the last, eschatological one, Christ is clothed within us as ‘highest bishoppe, solempnest kinge, wurshipfullest lorde.’<sup>45</sup>

Though the indwelling of God and the soul is mutual, it is not symmetrical. With a keener awareness of humankind’s frailty and blindness, Julian found it harder than Eckhart to ‘break through’ from the soul’s present state to its eternal, pre-created oneness with God. For her, this oneness is an object of revelation and faith — a truth seen in showings, not experienced in mystical union.<sup>46</sup> Unlike Hadewijch, she never refers to ‘becoming God’ or being ‘engulfed’ or ‘devoured’ by the One. On her account, the soul is not even one with itself except in God. A startling feature of Julian’s thought is the way she bifurcates the self: what she calls our ‘substance’, or pre-existent, eternal being, dwells in God without separation, but this unfallen self and its ‘godly will’ are not normally accessible to our awareness. Conversely, the personality we know as our empirical self — our ‘sensuality’ — experiences itself as estranged from God, even though this perception

<sup>43</sup> Julian of Norwich, *A Revelation of Love*, chap. 57, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 305. On Julian’s instructions to the reader, see Watson, ‘The Trinitarian Hermeneutic in Julian of Norwich’s *Revelation of Love*’. For her possible Latin sources, see Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings*, ed. by Colledge and Walsh.

<sup>44</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 6, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, pp. 143–45.

<sup>45</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 68, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, pp. 335–37.

<sup>46</sup> For the difference between Eckhart’s theology of ‘indistinct union’ and Julian, see *Revelation of Love*, chap. 54, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 297: ‘I sawe no difference between God and oure substance, but as it were all God. And yet my understanding toke that oure substance is in God: that is to sey, that God is God and oure substance is a creature in God.’

is false. These two aspects of the person are linked only through co-inherence in Christ. In other words, only through divine indwelling is the self we consciously experience connected with our eternal self, because God alone is the ‘mene that kepeth the substance and the sensualite togeder.’<sup>47</sup> Our substance, Julian says, has been ‘oned’ in its very creation to the human soul of Christ, the highest of all creatures. By means of that union, ‘all the soules that shalle be saved’ are further enclosed in his divinity — ‘knit in this knot, and oned in this oning, and made holy in this holyhede.’<sup>48</sup> But our fallen sensuality would have no part in that saving union were it not for the incarnation, through which Christ enclosed himself within it. Thus the reciprocal indwelling is indicated by an exceptionally subtle use of *in*: ‘I saw [...] that oure substance is in God. And also I saw that in oure sensualite God is.’<sup>49</sup>

Until the sensuality is fully healed, however, Christ cannot yet be enthroned there as the sovereign lord who appears in Julian’s last vision. This is where her theology of divine motherhood comes into play: our sensual existence is a kind of childhood which Christ guides towards maturity through the ‘motherhood of mercy and grace’. But this famous doctrine is so often misunderstood that it is worth spelling out the precise theological claims it entails.

1. The second person of the Trinity is our Mother in two ways: he is our natural mother through creation and our mother in a figurative sense through the incarnation.<sup>50</sup>
2. Christ is physically our mother, not only in the ultimate sense as Creator, but also because he is directly present in and acts through biological mothers. In every action that pertains to good mothering, from labour and delivery through teaching and discipline, Julian goes so far as to say, ‘it is he that doth it in the creatures by whom that it is done.’<sup>51</sup> This is an exceptional

<sup>47</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 56, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 301.

<sup>48</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 53, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 295.

<sup>49</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 55, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 299.

<sup>50</sup> ‘The seconde person of the trinite is oure moder in kind in oure substantial making, in whom we be groundend and roted, and he is oure moder of mercy in oure sensualite taking’: *Revelation of Love*, chap. 58, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 309.

<sup>51</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 60, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 315.

claim: a special case of divine indwelling is ascribed to mothers, grounded in Julian's radical teaching that 'God doth alle thing, be it never so litile', for 'ther is no doer but he'.<sup>52</sup>

3. Christ is spiritually and metaphorically our mother through his Passion and his Church. In his bloody death on the Cross he gave us birth; in the Eucharist he breastfeeds us; in allowing us to stumble and fall, he teaches us to walk; in hearing our confessions, he gives us maternal comfort. This third aspect of motherhood leads into an orthodox affirmation of 'oure moder holy church', through which Christ exercises his spiritual maternity, just as he exercises his physical maternity through women.

Together, these three 'beholdings of motherhed in God' justify the text's larger claim that 'as verely as God is oure fader, as verely is God oure moder'.<sup>53</sup> But divine maternity is also a locus of empathy. Not surprisingly for a medieval woman, Julian perceives motherhood as an apt model of divine love because 'the moders service is nerest, rediest, and sekerest [surest]' — that is, the most natural, loving, and loyal of all human relations.<sup>54</sup> But, unlike many male writers, Julian never opposes a mother's love to a father's discipline, justice, or any other trait, for the idea of complementary gender roles does not arise.<sup>55</sup> Instead, a good mother is a disciplinarian who changes her parenting techniques over time, not overprotecting her child but letting it suffer, 'fall sometime and be dissesed', for its own good, 'to make the childe to receive vertues and grace'.<sup>56</sup> Yet, because of her empathy, such a mother does not stand by coldly, but watches her child's stumbling 'with ruth and pitte', just as the lord in Julian's famous parable gazes on his fallen servant.<sup>57</sup> Both mother and lord wisely restrain their pity until an opportune time, so both servant and child suffer in the short run but gain immeasurably in the long

<sup>52</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 11, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, pp. 163–65.

<sup>53</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 59, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 309.

<sup>54</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 60, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 313.

<sup>55</sup> See Bynum, 'Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother'.

<sup>56</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chaps 60–61, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, pp. 315–17.

<sup>57</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 51, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, pp. 273–89. This parable, in which the servant represents both Christ and Adam, forms the theological heart of *A Revelation of Love* and leads directly into Julian's teaching on the motherhood of Christ.

— through humility, self-knowledge, and the deep joy and gratitude that spring from restoration after estrangement and loss. The merciful lord and kind mother in these exempla are parallel figures. With respect to empathy, the mother's role may be prior, for medieval mothers were expected to have compassion for their children,<sup>58</sup> while serfs had no such expectation of their lords.<sup>59</sup>

On a superficial reading, it might seem that Julian's theology of God as Mother leaves no room for the Mother of God. But this is not so, for Mary plays an understated but crucial role in *A Revelation of Love*. Given the medieval vogue for Passion meditation, it is normal that Julian should have prayed, long before her illness, for 'mind of the Passion', that is, the imaginative experience of being with Mary Magdalene and Christ's other friends at the time of his death.<sup>60</sup> When she is granted this gift, however, she does not see either the Magdalene or the *Mater dolorosa*, as she and we might have expected.<sup>61</sup> Instead, she writes, Christ 'brought our lady Saint Mary to my understanding [...] a simple maiden and a meeke, yong of age, a little waxen above a childe, in the stature as she was when she conceived'.<sup>62</sup> Why should a vision of Christ's Passion be accompanied by *this* virgin, the Virgin Annunciate? What Julian sees in Mary is 'the wisdom and the truthe of her soule, [...] the reverent beholding' by which she marvels 'that he that was her maker would be borne of her that was made'.<sup>63</sup> Aside from the triple pun on 'made/maid' — a creature, a virgin, and a handmaid — Mary's 'reverent beholding' invites empathy of an unexpected kind. Julian no longer needs a model of compassion for the dying Christ, whom she now sees with her own eyes. What she does need is a model of contemplation. In her comments on this showing, she

<sup>58</sup> Marian piety routinely links motherhood with compassion, though both realities and ideologies were more complex. See Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation*; Newman, "Cruel Corage"; Parsons and Wheeler, *Medieval Mothering*.

<sup>59</sup> Labour relations were fraught in Julian's England, where harsh laws intended to prevent serfs from running away and to freeze agricultural wages at pre-Plague levels fuelled the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society*; Hilton and Aston, *The English Rising of 1381*; Miller, *1348–1500*.

<sup>60</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 2, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 125.

<sup>61</sup> Mary does figure in this role later on: *Revelation of Love*, chap. 18, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 185.

<sup>62</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 4, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 137.

<sup>63</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 4, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 137.

asserts that Mary's humility and fullness of grace derive not from contempt of the world, but only from her reverent beholding of God's goodness. Nothing is to be despised — not the world, not the self, not the body. This attitude becomes the standard to which Julian twice alludes later on: she adopts Mary's stance as her own and holds it up as a model for readers.<sup>64</sup> Empathy is broader than compassion: Julian's mode of 'living Mary', as Hadewijch would have said, is to marvel with her at the astonishing goodness of God.

Mary's 'littleness' resembles that of the world in the hazelnut vision that follows: both she and the universe are small only when compared to their maker. Hers is the humility that deserves to be exalted. In the eleventh showing, she is in fact exalted as Queen of Heaven, 'high and noble and glorious'.<sup>65</sup> Once again, empathy takes an unpredictable turn. In offering a vision of Mary, Jesus utters just four laconic words — 'Wilt thou see her?' — as recorded in Julian's original text, *A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman*. But in reflecting and revising her book, she expanded those words, interpreting them with a long series of 'as if' clauses. In presenting Mary to her mind's eye, Julian muses, it was 'as if [Jesus] saide: "Wilt thou se how that I love her?"' and conversely, "'Wilt thou se in her how thou art loved?"' Mary's glory in heaven, like her humility on earth, invites sympathetic joy: God has exalted her to let all creatures share in the mutual delight of Mother and Son. In this chapter of *A Revelation*, Julian combines the universality for which she always strives with a sense of Mary's uniqueness. On the one hand, when Christ asks, 'Wilt thou se in her how thou art loved?' he expresses his affection not only to Julian, but 'to all mankind that shall be saved, as it were alle to one person'. It is only 'for thy love' — that is, for the love of humankind — that God has glorified his mother. On the other hand, Julian reflects that in the whole revelation God showed her 'nothing in specialle', that is, no individual creature, except 'oure lady Sent Mary. And her he shewed thre times'.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, Mary is integrated into the long meditation on Christ's motherhood, which is said to work *through* her just as it works through Mother Church and actual mothers. To sum up her teaching on this theme, Julian writes, 'oure lady is oure moder, in whom we be all beclosed and of her borne in Crist. For she that is moder of oure savioure is mother of all that ben saved in our saviour'. So

<sup>64</sup> See *Revelation of Love*, chap. 7, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 145, and chap. 60 (p. 313).

<sup>65</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 25, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 205.

<sup>66</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 25, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, pp. 203–05.

far, so good; Mary's universal motherhood was a familiar theme. Yet what follows is paradoxical and strange: 'oure savioure is oure very moder, in whome we be endlessly borne and never shall come out of him'.<sup>67</sup> 'Endlessly borne' is another instance of Julian's wordplay: in Christ we are given eternal birth, yet eternally carried in the divine womb we shall never leave — that is, the Trinity itself. Thus, the paradox of divine motherhood, imaged in the pregnancy of Mary, affirms the permanence of both indwelling and the distinct existence of creatures. As with Eckhart's flowing-forth and breaking-through, or Hadewijch's pendulum swinging between divine absorption and active service, neither pole of the paradox can ever be effaced.

Why does Mary prove central to these explorations of empathy? The answer may seem obvious: no relationship is more intimate than that of mother and child, especially in the Song of Songs tradition, where it is overlaid and interlaced with the love of bridegroom and bride. So the shortest way to union with Christ is through identification with Mary. We see this in popular piety throughout the Middle Ages and in much of the Catholic world today, in images from the Madonna and Child to the Pietà, in lyrics from 'The Seven Joys of Mary' to the *Stabat mater*. The most extreme expressions of Marian empathy shaped the lives of women like Ida of Leuven, with her visions of cuddling baby Jesus and her faux pregnancy inspired by receiving the Eucharist. But the mystical tradition gives a more profound answer to our question. As the one person who physically 'magnified the Lord', Mary is both the visible sign and the supreme instance of divine indwelling. 'Love's mysteries in souls do grow', wrote John Donne, 'But yet the body is his book'.<sup>68</sup> Even so, Mary's pregnant body stands at the heart of the Christian faith.

In the 1970s, when the Anglican Communion was agonizing over women's ordination, one polemicist asked what could be more ludicrous than the sight of a pregnant woman at the altar. *Sed contra, respondeo*: what could be more apt? In 1170, Hildegard of Bingen was already assimilating Christ's descent into Mary, overshadowed by the Holy Spirit, to his renewed descent in the Eucharist.<sup>69</sup> Hadewijch taught that the way to 'live' the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is first to live Mary's pregnancy, learning from her how to be 'God's mother with perfect

<sup>67</sup> *Revelation of Love*, chap. 57, in Julian of Norwich, *The Writings*, ed. by Watson and Jenkins, p. 305. See Sprung, "'We nevyr shall come out of hym'".

<sup>68</sup> John Donne, 'The Ecstasy', lines 71–72, in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. by Abrams and others, I, 1076–78.

<sup>69</sup> Hildegard of Bingen, 'Sermo: De peruersa hereticorum doctrina', in Hildegard of Bingen, *Epistolarium*, ed. by Van Acker and Klaes-Hachmöller, III, 141–42, no. 381.

motherhood'. Through this exercise the soul matures in love until she is caught up in the Trinity's own dynamic life, constantly flowing forth in service and returning to God in union. Eckhart assimilated the Virgin Mother to the often-denigrated Martha, finding in her a model of contemplation in action and service purified by detachment. On this model every soul can become — or already is — both the only-begotten Son and the 'virgin wife' giving birth to that Son. For Julian, Mary images Christ's multidimensional motherhood — biological, sacramental, metaphysical, and moral. She is at the same time a pattern for the contemplative, whose wonder at God's 'overpassing love' embodies the ideal response to grace and the way to more grace.

As I hope to have shown, the New Testament heralds a mysterious kind of selfhood, an *imago Trinitatis*, which has emerged most vividly in the mystical tradition. This co-inherent self is one who dwells in God and in whom God reciprocally dwells. Such a conception is nowhere to be found in our contemporary discourses on subjectivity, and even in Christian pulpits, it leaves scarcely a trace.<sup>70</sup> That is a shame, for if empathy depends solely on the strength of our moral efforts, God help us. But if we feel for others because we dwell in Another, and Another in us, our species may yet have a chance.

Barbara I. Newman

Professor of English, Religion, and Classics and John Evans Professor of Latin  
Northwestern University

<sup>70</sup> A year after this essay was drafted, a new exposition of the theology of co-inherence appeared, based on the writings of South African archbishop Desmond Tutu. See Battle, *Ubuntu*. 'Ubuntu', or co-inherence, was also the theme of the 2009 General Convention of the Episcopal Church.

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# LOVE: ACTIVE, CONTEMPLATIVE, ESSENTIAL

Bernard McGinn

**T**he Bible is clear on the nature and demands of love. ‘God is love, and the one who abides in love abides in God and God in him’, as we are told in 1 John 4. 16. God’s nature as love in turn entails the twofold commandment first proclaimed in Deuteronomy 6. 5 and repeated by Jesus in the Synoptics: ‘You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart and your whole soul and your whole mind, [...] and you shall love your neighbour like yourself’ (Matthew 22. 36–40; Mark 12. 29–31).<sup>1</sup> The issue is not in the teaching itself, but in how it is to be understood and put into practice. How are loving God and loving neighbour related? And by means of what form or forms of loving do we come to abide in God and God to abide in us? Finally, to quote from Karl Morrison’s masterful study of the hermeneutics of empathy, is it possible that this mutual abiding in love ‘could [...] break through the separateness of individual personality, [...] moving beyond the relationship between separate “I’s” and “you’s” to an identity in which “I am you”?’<sup>2</sup>

Almost two millennia of Christian history reveal a host of ways of responding to these questions — far more than could be addressed in a brief essay. What I shall concentrate upon here is only a slice of a very large pie, but an important one represented by key figures in the mystical tradition who sought to relate the demands of active love of neighbour to contemplative love of God. Various models of understanding this relationship are evident among Christian mystics, but I shall focus on two: first, what might be called the standard Western picture of the reciprocal relation of active love and contemplative love; and second, the late

<sup>1</sup> Also important is the Johannine commandment to love one another; e.g. John 13. 34, 15. 12, and 17.

<sup>2</sup> Morrison, *I Am You*, p. xx.

medieval emergence of a new way of conceiving the co-inherence of all forms of love both in God and in those who come to share in the divine fusion of restful fruition and caritative action. Given the size of the topic, a good way to begin is with a brief investigation of the two supreme masters of medieval mysticism: Augustine and Dionysius.

Few figures in the history of Christian thought devoted as much attention to love as did Augustine, and, as with much else, there are significant shifts in his thinking on the topic.<sup>3</sup> In Book I of his *De doctrina Christiana*, a relatively early work, Augustine sketched out his famous distinction between 'enjoyment' (*fruitio*) and 'use' (*usus*), the teaching that God as the supreme and lasting good is alone to be enjoyed and all other things are to be used in order to attain enjoyment of God. But what about human beings? Augustine recognizes the difficulty of the issue: 'It is therefore an important question whether humans should enjoy one another or use one another, or both.' He continues: 'We have been commanded to love one another, but the question is whether one person should be loved by another on his own account or for another reason. If it is on his own account, we enjoy him; if for another reason, we use him.' His conclusion: 'In my opinion, he should be loved for another reason.'<sup>4</sup> The *De doctrina* was such an influential work that we can easily forget that this teaching represents an anomaly in Augustine's meditations on the relation of love of God and love of neighbour. In his later teaching, such as in the *De trinitate*, the Bishop realized that the co-inherence of the two biblical love commandments shows that love of neighbour is not instrumental, but essential: in loving our neighbour with true *caritas*, we are actually loving God. Noting that in many biblical passages the love of God is not mentioned while love of neighbour is enjoined for perfection, Augustine says: 'This is because if a person loves his neighbour, it follows that above all he loves love itself. But "God is love and he who abides in love abides in God" (1 John 4. 16). So it follows that above all he loves God.'<sup>5</sup> Love of neighbour, then,

<sup>3</sup> A useful introduction to Augustine's views on love can still be found in the classic work of Burnaby, *Amor Dei*. For a more recent survey with bibliography, see van Bavel, 'Love'.

<sup>4</sup> Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. by Green, I. 22. 39 (p. 18): 'Itaque magna quaestio est, utrum frui se homines debeant an uti an utrumque. Praeceptum est enim nobis ut diligamus invicem, sed quaeritur, utrum propter se homo ab homine diligendus sit an propter aliud. Si enim propter se, fruimur eo; si propter aliud, utimur eo. Videtur autem mihi propter aliud diligendus.' On this teaching, see O'Donovan, '*Usus* and *Fruitio*'.

<sup>5</sup> Augustine, *De Trinitate*, ed. by Migne, VIII. 7. 10 (col. 957): 'Sed et hoc ideo, quia et qui proximum diligit, consequens est ut et ipsam praecipue dilectionem diligit. "Deus" autem "dilectio est, et qui manet in dilectione, in Deo manet". Consequens ergo est ut praecipue Deum diligit.' The whole of VIII. 3–5 is an extended treatise on love of God and love of neighbour.

is not a matter of means and ends, but is subsumed in the wider context of the cosmic order of love as the 'weight of the soul' (*pondus amoris*) in which we are either dragged down by the false love of *cupiditas* or borne upward by the ordered *caritas* that relates all forms of proper love in a living harmony.<sup>6</sup>

The theme of the 'order of love' (*ordo caritatis* — Song of Songs 2. 4) was not created by Augustine, but was richly developed by him and handed on to later Western thinkers.<sup>7</sup> The *ordo caritatis* centres on the relation of active love and contemplative love, that is, between caring service of neighbour and loving contemplation of God. In discussing this issue, Christian thinkers, beginning with Clement of Alexandria, made use of the thought of classical philosophers on the interrelation between two modes of life: the active life (*bios praktikos* or *politikos*) of the citizen and the contemplative life (*bios theôretikos*) of the philosopher. Christian adaptation of this theme, however, involved a crucial transposition in which the two lives no longer constituted diverse social roles, but rather two modes of loving incumbent on all believers — the dual commandments of loving God and loving neighbour.<sup>8</sup>

Augustine discusses the necessity and relationship of the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* in two interrelated contexts: philosophical and exegetical. In the philosophical context, the Bishop transposed the three modes of life known from classical sources, like Varro and Cicero (the active, the contemplative, and the mixed lives), into Christian discourse as part of his apologetic agenda to show the superiority of Christianity to pagan philosophy in attaining the Supreme Good. In his discussion in Book XIX of the *De civitate Dei* of the *vita actuosa* and the *vita otiosa*, as well as the life that mixes the two (*vita composita*), he says that one can lead any one of these lives and gain heaven. What matters is that both commandments of the law of love be fulfilled: 'No one should be so contemplative that in his contemplation he does not think of his neighbour's need; no one

For more on the identity of love of neighbour and love of God, see, e.g., Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Willems, v. 7–9, and ix. 10, as well as Sermon 90. 10. For an introduction to Augustine's mature understanding of love, see O'Donovan, *The Problem of Self-Love in St. Augustine*, chap. 1.

<sup>6</sup> On the *pondus amoris*, see Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. by O'Donnell, XIII. 7–9.

<sup>7</sup> A key text for understanding the Bishop's view of the *ordo caritatis* is Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Migne, xv. 22. 29.

<sup>8</sup> The relation between the active and contemplative lives has attracted considerable literature. From the philosophical perspective, see especially Lobkowicz, *Theory and Practice*. From a theological perspective, see Solignac, 'Vie active, vie contemplative, vie mixte'; and the papers in Vickers, *Arbeit, Musse, Meditation*. I have discussed aspects of the mystical treatment of the theme in McGinn, 'Asceticism and Mysticism'.

so active that he does not seek the contemplation of God.' Therefore, Augustine concludes, 'The love of truth seeks holy contemplation, and the necessity of love undertakes the required business.'<sup>9</sup>

The exegetical treatment of the active and contemplative lives (the mixed life is not really a third separate thing) is also revealing for the Christian transmutation of this philosophical theme. Following Origen, Augustine saw the relation of the two lives typologically revealed in various paired figures of the Bible, most notably Mary and Martha in Luke 10,<sup>10</sup> but also Rachel and Leah in Genesis 29–31,<sup>11</sup> and Peter and John at Christ's tomb in John 20. Both Mary and Martha are needed, but Martha's active service is inferior to Mary's concentration on the 'one thing necessary' (*unum necessarium*), contemplative love of God. Both forms of life are good, but the contemplative life, since it is more directly related to the heavenly goal, is necessarily higher.<sup>12</sup> Like other Christian authors who adopted and transformed these categories, Augustine held that although both loves are praiseworthy, because they constitute diverse forms of life, they can only be put into practice in succession through a kind of oscillating movement, however much one always implies the other.

For Augustine, the only path to God is the road of love. As he put it in a sermon on Psalm 104: 'Charity both finds him through faith and seeks to have him through vision, where he is then found in such a way that he satisfies us and is no longer sought.' Even in heaven, however, 'As our love grows, so does our search for the one who has been found.'<sup>13</sup> The goal of this incremental love, for Augustine, is not described as uniting with God, but rather as touching, seeing, and cleaving to God, inchoately and imperfectly in this life and perfectly in

<sup>9</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Migne, XIX. 19 (col. 647): 'Nec sit quisque debet esse otiosus, ut in eodem otio utilitatem non cogitet proximi; nec sit actuosus, ut contemplationem non requirat Dei, [...]. Quamobrem otium sanctum quaerit charitas veritatis: negotium justum suscipit necessitas charitatis.' For more on Augustine's view of the *ordo caritatis*, see McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, pp. 256–58.

<sup>10</sup> See Solignac and Donnat, 'Marthe et Marie'; and Csanyi, 'Optima pars'.

<sup>11</sup> Guillaume, 'Rachel et Lia'.

<sup>12</sup> On Mary and Martha in Augustine, see especially Sermons 103 and 104 (Augustine, *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 613–18). Augustine interpreted Mary and Martha not only in the personal sense of two modes of life, but also as two aspects of the life of the Church, where Martha represents the present Church and Mary figures the heavenly Church (e.g. Augustine, *Quaestiones in evangelium*, ed. by Migne, II. 20 (col. 1341)).

<sup>13</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by Migne, CIV. 3 (cols 1391–92): 'Charitas autem et invenit eum per fidem, et eum quaerit habere per speciem: ubi tunc sic invenietur, ut sufficiat nobis, et ulterius non quaeratur [...]. amore crescente inquisitio crescat inventi.'

the next.<sup>14</sup> Augustine was suspicious of union language, possibly due to its use by Neoplatonists like Plotinus (c. 205–70). Union is, of course, an important category for him, but it is not the union between the individual soul and God, but the union in which all the saved are one in the body of Christ. When we eat Christ, we are indeed changed into him and deified,<sup>15</sup> says Augustine, but this transmutation is communal not personal, lest there be any risk of confusion between the created person and the Creator.

Augustine speaks of love on almost every page of his writings; the mysterious Dionysius addressed the topic less frequently, but it would be a mistake to think that love is somehow shortchanged in the Dionysian writings.<sup>16</sup> Jesus as the manifestation of the love of the Trinity for humanity is one of the constant themes of the Dionysian treatises,<sup>17</sup> and in Letter 8 this unbounded love is taken as a model for us and is therefore the reason why the monk Demophilus is condemned for his rejection of a sinner.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, although anagogic return to God through the hierarchies is usually presented in terms of illumination and knowledge, it is equally an ascent of love. As Chapter 1 of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* states: ‘The common goal of every hierarchy consists in the continuous love of God and of things divine, a love which is sacredly worked out in an inspired and unique way.’<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> On the vision of God in this life, see, e.g., Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. by O’Donnell, VII. 10; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, ed. by Migne, XII; and Letter 147.

<sup>15</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by Migne, XXXII. 2. 2 (col. 274); cf. Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. by O’Donnell, VII. 10. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Surprisingly little has been written about love in Dionysius; among the best studies is Horn, ‘Amour et extase d’après Denys l’Aréopagite’.

<sup>17</sup> The critical edition of the Dionysian corpus is Pseudo-Dionysius, *Corpus*, ed. by Suchla, Heil, and Ritter. (This edition makes use of the column numbers from Pseudo-Dionysius, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Migne for reference, and this system will be followed here.) For passages on the love of the Trinity, see, e.g., *De divinis nominibus* (hereafter *De div. nom.*), I. 4 (col. 592A), II. 3 (col. 640C), and II. 10 (col. 648D); *De caelesti hierarchia* (hereafter *De cael. hier.*), IV. 4 (col. 181B), and VII. 3 (col. 209B); *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (hereafter *De eccles. hier.*), 3. III. 11–13 (cols 441A–44C), and 5. III. 5 (col. 512C); Letter 3 (col. 1069B), and Letter 4 (col. 1072BC). Unless otherwise noted, I provide the page numbers of the translations in Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Luibheid.

<sup>18</sup> Letter 8. 1 (cols 1085C–88A; p. 217) and 8. 4 (cols 1093C–97A; pp. 276–78). There is a similar passage in *De eccles. hier.*, 3. III. 3 (col. 429B; p. 213), where Dionysius comes close to discussing the interaction of contemplative and active love without actually using the words. See below at note 29.

<sup>19</sup> *De eccles. hier.*, I. 3 (col. 376A; p. 198).

The most important passage on love in Dionysius comes from Book IV of the *De divinis nominibus*.<sup>20</sup> It is this text that gave Paul's supposed disciple from the Areopagus a key role in later Western views of the meaning of love. Chapter 4 is where Dionysius gets down to the meat of his positive, or cataphatic, doctrine about God, beginning with a treatment of God as the 'Good', 'the name that the sacred writers have preeminently set apart for the supra-divine God from all other names' (*De div. nom.*, IV. 1 (col. 693B)). God as supreme self-diffusive Goodness, however, is shown to be not other than God as 'Light' (*De div. nom.*, IV. 5–6) and God as 'Beauty' (*De div. nom.*, IV. 7). Dionysius's deepest interest, however, emerges in the lengthy section he devotes to showing how the essential meaning of God as Goodness/Light/Beauty emerges when we name God as Love, specifically as *erôs*, the yearning, even needful, love that some later interpreters have mistakenly thought incompatible with the Gospel.<sup>21</sup> Dionysius will have none of that view. According to him, all love — the love of desire, the love of generous giving, and the love of satisfaction — find their transcendent source in God. He demonstrates this by appealing to the appearance of the word *erôs* in the Septuagint text and in Christian tradition (*De div. nom.*, IV. 11–12). All the different words for love really indicate a single supreme power, one which Dionysius describes in terms of late Neoplatonic views of *erôs* as 'the Good seeking good for the sake of the Good'. He explains, 'The love which creates all the goodness of the world preexisted superabundantly within the Good and did not allow it to remain without issue.'<sup>22</sup> More boldly, Dionysius's meditation on *erôs* as the central predicate for the paradigm of *exitus* and *reditus* leads him to declare that God, at least the God of affirmative language, is the God who is ecstatically in love with his creation, the God who cannot help pouring himself out into all things, and, by the gift of the love that is his ecstasy, draws them all back into himself.

Dionysius expresses the dynamic circle of love in terms of a threefold distinction of modes of loving taken over from Proclus: 'This divine love brings ecstasy so that the lover belongs not to the self but to the beloved [that is, I am you]. This is shown by the providence lavished by the superior on the subordinate. It is shown in the regard for one another demonstrated by those of

<sup>20</sup> For more on this text and its role in later Christian thought on love, see McGinn, 'God as Eros'.

<sup>21</sup> The classic statement of the dangers of *erôs* for the Christian view of love is that of Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, trans. by Watson.

<sup>22</sup> *De div. nom.*, IV. 10 (col. 708B; pp. 79–80). A similar definition is found in IV. 12 (col. 709D; p. 81).

equal status. And it is shown by the subordinates in their return to what is higher.<sup>23</sup> Thus, God's ecstasy *is* the world, while the world's whole purpose is to become ecstatic into God. When God speaks the world, he says 'I am you', or more accurately, 'You am I in my ecstatic manifestation, or theophany'. Created existence, brought to thought and speech in humanity, does not respond on its own, as much as it echoes God's creative outcry by exclaiming, 'My desire to return to you is only your own desire for a unification that is never lost but always overflowing'. As Dionysius puts it: 'This divine *erôs* brings ecstasy so that the lover belongs not to self but to the beloved. [...] This is why the great Paul, swept away by his *erôs* for God and seized of its ecstatic power had this inspired word to say, "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (Galatians 2. 20).'<sup>24</sup> Hence Dionysius, unlike Augustine, does not shy away from using union language to describe the meeting of God and human. Indeed, many of his expressions can be interpreted as teaching an indistinct merging into God.<sup>25</sup>

On this basis we can claim that although 'the striving up to union' described in the *De mystica theologia* (e.g. col. 997B) is framed in terms of an intellectual dialectic of affirmation and negation aiming at union and 'unseeing seeing', it is not an error to understand this anagogy also in terms of the movement of erotic love back to God.<sup>26</sup> As the second chapter of the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* puts it:

<sup>23</sup> *De div. nom.*, iv. 13 (col. 712A; p. 82). For variations on the threefold form of love, see, e.g., *De div. nom.*, iv. 10 (col. 708B), iv. 12 (col. 709D), iv. 14 (col. 712CD), and iv. 15 (col. 713B). For the basis in Proclus, see Proclus, *Alcibiades I*, trans. by O'Neill, especially nn. 117 and 122.

<sup>24</sup> *De div. nom.*, iv. 13 (col. 712A; p. 82).

<sup>25</sup> The literature on Dionysian union is large and cannot be cited here. My brief characterization of it as an indistinct union can be supported by studying the major passages on union in the *corpus*: *De div. nom.*, i. 4 (col. 592C), i. 5 (col. 593BC), ii. 9 (col. 648B), iii. 1 (col. 680B), iii. 2 (col. 681D), iv. 6 (col. 701B), iv. 11 (col. 708D), iv. 12 (col. 709D), vii. 3 (col. 872A), xi. 2 (cols 949D–952B), xiii. 3 (col. 981B); *De mystica theologia*, i. 1 (col. 997B), i. 3 (col. 1001A), iii. 1 (col. 1033C); *De cael. hier.*, ix. 2 (col. 260B), xii. 3 (col. 293B); *De eccles. hier.*, 1. 2 (col. 373B), 1. 3 (col. 376A), 2. I (col. 392A), 2. III. 4 (col. 400C), 3. I (col. 424CD), 3. III. 8 (col. 437A); and Letter 10 (col. 1117B).

<sup>26</sup> In the late Middle Ages, the so-called 'affective Dionysianism' initiated by Thomas Gallus (d. 1246) interpreted the *corpus areopageticum* in terms of the role of supreme affectivity (*apex affectus*) as vaulting beyond all intellectual affirmation and negation to attain union with God. This interpretation was often tied to a reading of the ninth angelic hierarchy, the seraphim, as representing supreme affective love of God. Dionysius himself never says this, but his identification of the seraphim with fire, warmth, and heat (e.g. *De cael. hier.*, vii. 1 (col. 205BC), xiii. 4 (cols 304D–305A), and xv. 2 (cols 328C–329C); and *De eccles. hier.*, 4. III. 10 (col. 481CD)) lent itself to this interpretation. For an introduction to affective Dionysianism, see McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, pp. 78–87.

'In the realm of intellect, [...] it is love of God which first of all moves us toward the divine.'<sup>27</sup> 'All things long for the Good', as Dionysius says in several places (e.g. *De div. nom.*, I. 5 (col. 593C) and IV. 4 (col. 704C)), and therefore yearning love is the motivating force in the flight to God (*De div. nom.*, I. 2 (col. 589A)). Erotic love powers this ascent to God, and, in the horizontal and descending registers of *erôs*, Christians are called upon to imitate the love Christ showed to humanity, as a rhetorical question in Letter 8 reminds us, asking, 'Have we ourselves been so perfected to complete holiness that we do not need the love for humanity which God has shown to us?'<sup>28</sup>

Dionysius does not frame his exposition of the modes of love in terms of the active and contemplative lives, but, like Augustine, he clearly thought that both loving God and loving others were necessary and reciprocal activities. In *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (3. III. 3), he describes the Hierarch (the episcopal leader of the liturgy) as journeying upward in mind towards the One, and also as making 'the divine return to the primary things the goal of his procession toward secondary things, which he had undertaken out of love for humanity'.<sup>29</sup> At the end of the treatise on *erôs* in *De divinis nominibus* IV, he insists on the perfect unity of the whole cycle of love, citing the 'Hymns of Love' of the probably fictitious Hierotheus: 'Come, let us gather all these [loves] once more together into a unity and let us say that there is a simple self-moving Power directing all things to mingle as one, that it starts out from the Good, reaches down to the lowliest creation, returns then in due order through all the stages back to the Good, and thus turns from itself and through itself and upon itself and toward itself in an everlasting circle.'<sup>30</sup> This circle of love implies a deeper unity of all modes of loving than that provided by the distinction between active and contemplative love, a hint that was to be developed by some late medieval mystics.

Both Augustine and Dionysius, therefore, left their medieval successors impressive theories of the role of love of God and love of neighbour, diverse but not necessarily adverse. Where they disagreed was in their conception of union with God. The Augustinian view of a loving union of separate substances dominated Western mysticism through the twelfth century, but a more Dionysian conception of the possibility of merging into God, at least on some level, emerged in the thirteenth century. Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux provide good

<sup>27</sup> *De eccles. hier.*, 2. II (col. 392B; p. 200).

<sup>28</sup> Letter 8. 4 (col. 1093D; p. 276). See also *De eccles. hier.*, 3. III. 13 (col. 444C) and 5. III. 6 (col. 513B).

<sup>29</sup> *De eccles. hier.*, 3. III. 3 (col. 429B; p. 213).

<sup>30</sup> *De div. nom.*, IV. 17 (col. 713D; p. 84).

illustrations of how early medieval monastic mystics developed the Augustinian distinction between action and contemplation and a securely orthodox understanding of how the soul comes to be united to God. Late medieval mystics like Hadewijch, Eckhart, and Ruusbroec developed the Dionysian option.

Gregory the Great has been called the ‘Doctor of Contemplation’ because his teaching on the nature of *contemplatio* was so influential throughout the Middle Ages. Gregory treats the role of contemplation in salvation history, the nature of contemplation and its biblical sources, and the relation between the active and contemplative lives, especially insofar as these modes of activity characterize distinct offices in the Church. His teaching is based on Augustine and Cassian, but he goes beyond both in the centrality he gives to contemplation. Here I will note only the key aspects of his teaching on the relation of action and contemplation.<sup>31</sup> Although Gregory believed that monks as models of the true contemplative state of humanity and bishops as the paradigms of combining contemplation and action in a fallen world had pride of place in contemplative practice, he never excluded any state of life from the call to enjoy at least some contemplative experience.<sup>32</sup> Gregory also widened the scope of the *vita activa* to include all the practices of Christian living, both ascetic acts of penance and loving service of every kind to the neighbour, thus creating a more compendious view of the active life. Finally, although Gregory followed Augustine in the three basic premises of his teaching (viz., both lives are necessary; the contemplative life is higher; contemplation must yield to action when the good of souls requires this), he went beyond the Bishop of Hippo in the detailed expositions he gave of the reciprocal interaction of the two lives, or two loves, in the soul’s progress to the perfect contemplation of heaven. The heart of Gregory’s mature teaching can be seen in his longest treatment of contemplation and action found in his *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, II. 2. 7–17, wherein he summarizes the reciprocity as follows: ‘By means of the active life we ought to pass over to the contemplative, and sometimes, through what we have seen within in the mind, the contemplative life should better recall us to the active.’<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Even listing the major passages on the relation of action and contemplation will give some idea of how important this theme was to the pope; see, e.g., *Moralia in Iob*, VI. 37. 56–61, X. 8. 13, X. 15. 31, XVIII. 43. 69–70, XXII. 6. 11, XXVII. 24. 44, XXVIII. 13. 33, XXX. 2. 8, XXX. 13. 48, and XXXII. 3. 4; *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, I. 3. 9–15, I. 10. 24, II. 2. 7–15, II. 3. 22, and II. 6. 5; *Homiliae in Evangelia*, XVIII. 3 and XXXVIII. 4; *Regula Pastoralis*, I. 4, I. 7, II. 5, and II. 9; *In i Librum Regum*, I. 64, I. 71–82, and V. 177–80; *In Cantica Canticorum*, 9; and Letter 7. 3–4.

<sup>32</sup> On the universality of the call to contemplation, see, e.g., *Moralia in Iob*, VI. 36. 55–37. 57 and VII. 12. 14; and *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, II. 5. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, ed. by Adriaen, II. 2. 11 (p. 232):

Bernard of Clairvaux, like most monastic mystics, affirmed that both active love and contemplative love are necessary for salvation, but Bernard was notable for the way he analysed the tension between the two loves. As a monk, he was dedicated to single-minded concentration on loving God in contemplative prayer; as a busy abbot, let alone someone who had been thrust (perhaps not unwillingly) onto the stage of world politics, he felt obliged to put active love into practice even at the expense of his contemplative life. No one better illustrates the inherent difficulties of trying to be true to both active and contemplative love in theory and in practice (although there would be few who would be inclined to support all of Bernard's practices of active love, such as preaching the Second Crusade or the back-room politics of his pursuit of Abelard). Bernard is also important because in his teaching we find a presentation of the relation of active and contemplative love within the context of a fully developed teaching about union with God, one which rejected any sense of the kind of identity found in most understandings of 'I am you'.

For the sake of convenience, I will concentrate on the Abbot's mystical masterpiece, the eighty-six *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* worked on between about 1135 and 1153. Midway through this commentary that only gets to 3. 1 of the text of the biblical source, Bernard reflects on the *ordo caritatis* of Song 2. 4 (*ordinavit in me caritatem*) in Sermons 50 and 51. Sermon 50 distinguishes between love in action (*actus*), that is, love of neighbour, and love in attraction or affection (*affectus*), that is, ecstatic love of God. Bernard says, 'I believe that a law and explicit commandment has been given to men (Deuteronomy 6. 5), yet how can one's feelings correspond to the commandment?'<sup>34</sup> The point is that we know we must actively love our neighbour, and we hope that we may feel affective love for God in this life, but even when we feel no real affection, we can be sure that, in good Augustinian fashion, we still are loving God when we fulfil the demands of active charity, such as 'Do good to those who hate you' (Luke 6. 27). For Bernard, Scripture's commands about love pertain more to love in action than affection; love as affection follows a different logic, according to three different forms: 'There is an affection which flesh begets, and one which reason controls, and one

'Debet ergo nos actiua ad contemplatiuam transmittere, et aliquando tamen ex eo quod introrsus mente conspeximus contemplatiua melius ad actiuam reuocare.' For a more detailed treatment of Gregory's view of action and contemplation, see McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, pp. 74–79.

<sup>34</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 50. 2, in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 79: '[...] puto esse datam legem hominibus, mandatumque formatum; nam in affectu quis ita habeat, ut mandatur?' This translation is from *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 525.

which wisdom seasons.<sup>35</sup> The first affection, the carnal variety, is incompatible with love of God; the second, the rational, can be brought into agreement with God's law by the performance of good deeds. It is the third, sapiential, love that comes to experience God in this life by means of loving contemplation.

The ordering of love proclaimed by the Song of Songs deals with both active and affective love, but in reverse order. In affective love we always prefer what is higher, that is, contemplation of God, but the situation is otherwise in active love. According to Bernard, 'In well-regulated action, on the other hand, the opposite order frequently or even always prevails. For we are more strongly impelled toward and often occupied with the welfare of our neighbour.' The Abbot goes on, with his usual rhetorical panache, to provide what may seem like extreme examples: 'Who will doubt that a man in prayer is speaking to God? But how often, at the call of charity, we are drawn away, torn away, for the sake of those who need to speak to us or be helped! How often does dutiful repose lead dutifully to the uproar of business! [...] How often for the sake of administering worldly affairs we very rightly omit even the solemn celebration of Mass!' He concludes with a lapidary aphorism: 'A preposterous order, but necessity knows no order.'<sup>36</sup> Affective love, to be sure, puts everything back in order, but a real appreciation of this ordering remains difficult to achieve in this life. Bernard's counsel is that we must try to love God with our whole heart, strength, and mind (Mark 12. 30) 'in relation to our power to enjoy'. In this fruition we will be able to recognize that our loveableness is not our own, but only our existence in God. 'As for your neighbour whom you are obliged to love as yourself' (Matthew 19. 19), Bernard concludes, '[...] if you are to experience him as he truly is, you will actually experience him only as you do yourself: he is what you are.'<sup>37</sup> That is, we can say to other persons, 'I am you', but only when we recognize that both of us are totally dependent on God.

<sup>35</sup> Sermon 50. 4 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 80): 'Sed est affectio quam caro gignit, et est quam ratio regit, et est quam condit sapientia.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 526.

<sup>36</sup> Sermon 50. 5 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 81): 'Attamen in bene ordinata actione saepe, aut etiam semper, ordo oppositus invenitur. Nam et circa proximi curam et plus urgemur, et pluries occupemur [...]. Orantem denique hominem Deo loqui quis dubitet? Quoties tamen inde, caritate iubente, abducimur et avellimur, propter eos qui nostra indigent opera vel loquela! Quoties pie cedit negotiorum tumultibus pia quies! [...] Quoties pro administrandis terrenis iustissime ipsis supersedemus celebrandis missarum solemnibus! Ordo praeposterus; sed necessitas non habet legem.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 527.

<sup>37</sup> Sermon 50. 7 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 83): 'Iam vero proximus, quem te oportet diligere sicut teipsum, ut tibi et ipse sapiat prout est, haud alio profecto

Bernard rules out any similar identification between God and human, as a look at his teaching on mystical union shows. In his *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* he rarely speaks in the first person. One of the few places where he does, Sermon 74, describes the mysterious visits that the Word has made to his soul, mostly unexpected and always brief. Bernard does not know where the Word comes from, but he does know when he is present. Addressing a hypothetical question, 'How do you know he was present?' Bernard responds: 'He roused my sleeping soul to wakefulness. He moved and mollified and wounded my heart (Song of Songs 4. 9), since it was hard as a rock and desperately ill, [...]. As I have said, it was only from the motion of my heart that I understood he was present.'<sup>38</sup> Bernard's self-report is meant to provide a model for each of his hearers to take on the person of the bride in Song of Songs 2. 17, who bids the Divine Lover, 'Come back!' (*Revertere!*). He continues: 'Having had such an experience of the Word, why wonder if I usurp the voice of the Bride, calling him back when he has gone away — I who burn with a desire that is partly like the bride's, though not equal?'<sup>39</sup> The soul's union with Christ, then, follows the model of human marital love, though on a higher level.

The Abbot insists on the total mutuality and supreme satisfaction of the embrace and kiss of the two lovers. As Sermon 83 says, a 'spiritual and holy marriage' entails, '[...] an embrace where willing the same and not willing the same make one spirit of two persons' (I Corinthians 6. 17). Despite the infinite difference between the two lovers, Bernard says not to be afraid: 'Do not fear that disparity of persons will in any way weaken the agreement of wills, because love knows no reverence. Love receives its name from loving, not from giving honour.'<sup>40</sup> At a later point in the sermon he summarizes: 'It is love alone of all the

sapient quam tu tibi, qui id est quod tu.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 528.

<sup>38</sup> Sermon 74. 6 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 243): 'expergefecit dormitantem animum meum; movit et emollivit, et vulneravit cor meum, quoniam durum lapideumque erat, et male sanum [...]. [T]antum ex motu cordis, sicut praefatus sum, intellexi praesentiam eius.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, pp. 223–24.

<sup>39</sup> Sermon 74. 7 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 244): 'Tale sane experimentum de Verbo habens, quid mirum, si et ego usurpo mihi vocem sponsae in revocando illud, cum se absentaverit, qui etsi non pari, simili tamen vel ex parte desiderio feror?' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 224.

<sup>40</sup> Sermon 83. 3 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 299–300): 'Complexus plane, ubi idem velle, et nolle idem, unum facit spiritum de duobus. Nec verendum est ne disparitas personarum claudicare in aliquo faciat conniventiam voluntatum, quia amor reverentiam nescit. Ab amando quippe amor, non ab honorando denominatur.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 258.

motions, perceptions and affections of the soul by which the creature, though not on equal terms, can repay something to its Creator, weigh back from the same measure.<sup>41</sup> The loving union of wills that is the central message of Bernard's sermon cycle always involves two actors willing the same thing — not a single reality or fused identity. In a noted passage on union in his treatise *De diligendo Deo*, the Abbot uses a series of metaphors, like a drop of water cast into a vat of wine and a piece of iron that becomes totally fiery, to describe union, that is, how 'it is necessary for the saints that all human feelings melt in a mysterious way and flow into the will of God'. A passage like this might suggest some kind of identification or merging, but Bernard immediately rules this out, insisting, 'No doubt, the substance remains, though under another form, another glory, another power'.<sup>42</sup>

The distinction between the Divine Bridegroom and the human soul-bride that Bernard insisted upon was challenged in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by innovative forms of mysticism that not only worked out new understandings of the relation between love of God and love of neighbour but also advanced the teaching that on some level at least the soul can attain indistinction with God, an identity that might well be expressed by the formula widespread in the late Middle Ages, 'I am you'.<sup>43</sup> These new developments are first found in some of the female mystics of the era. They were developed and systematized by two great male mystics of the fourteenth century: Meister Eckhart (1260–c. 1328) and Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381).

Among the most striking aspects of the New Mysticism of the late Middle Ages was the widespread conviction that the love that strives for God cannot be a rational or measured love, but must rather be a force that devours both the lover and beloved in its intensity and insanity (*insania amoris*). The relation of this view of unrestrained mystical love to the picture of *minne* in contemporary courtly literature is unmistakable, though the channels and extent of influence and mutual interaction are not easy to determine.<sup>44</sup> While Bernard had spoken of

<sup>41</sup> Sermon 83. 4 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, II, 300–01): 'Solus est amor ex omnibus animae motibus, sensibus atque affectibus, in quo potest creatura, etsi non ex aequo, respondere Auctori, vel de simili mutuam rependere vicem.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 259.

<sup>42</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo*, x. 28 (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. by Leclercq and others, III, 143): 'omnem tunc in sanctis humanam affectionem quodam ineffabili modo necesse erit a semetipsa liquescere, atque in Dei penitus transfundi voluntatem. Manebit quidem substantia, sed in alia forma, alia gloria aliaque potentia.' See *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, ed. by McGinn, p. 436.

<sup>43</sup> On the use of the phrase in late medieval literature and mysticism, see Ohly, 'Du bist mein, Ich bin dein'.

<sup>44</sup> For a study of the relation of mysticism and courtly literature in the thirteenth century,

*amor vehemens* and Richard of Saint Victor (d. 1173) had analysed love's violence in his treatise *De quatuor gradibus violentae caritatis*, thirteenth-century women, like the Flemish beguine Hadewijch of Antwerp (c. 1250), continue to astonish us with their abandonment to the *minne* that drowns God and the soul in the abyss of a fruition that is also 'disquiet and torture without pity'.<sup>45</sup> Hadewijch describes the power of *minne* as both a cosmic and a personal force in the sixteenth of her 'Poems in Couplets' as follows:

But her chains conjoin all things  
in a single fruition and delight.  
This is the chain that binds all in union  
So that each one knows the other through and through  
In the anguish or repose of the madness of love  
And eats his flesh and drinks his blood:  
The heart of each devours the other's heart,  
One soul assaults the other and invades it completely,  
As he who is Love itself showed us  
When he gave us himself to eat,  
Disconcerting all the thoughts of man.<sup>46</sup>

Hadewijch's at times almost alarming descriptions of the force of *minne* involve the merging of the divine and human subjects, though she also continues to use traditional formulae and expressions signifying a loving union of wills.<sup>47</sup> It is no accident that her favourite text from the Song of Songs, Song 2. 16, 'My beloved is mine and I am his' ('dilectus meus mihi et ego illi'), is one of the most direct scriptural references to the 'I am you' formula.<sup>48</sup> The beguine also expressed this

see Newman, 'La mystique courtoise'.

<sup>45</sup> A phrase from 'Poems in Couplets', 16. 157, in Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 356.

<sup>46</sup> Hadewijch, 'Poems in Couplets', 16. 25–36, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 353; Hadewijch, *Mengeldichten*, ed. by Van Mierlo, pp. 78–79: 'Hare band doet al voeghen | Jn een ghebruken, in een ghenoeghen. | Dit es die band, die al dat bint | Dat deen een anderen dorekint | Jn pine, in raste, in orewoet, | Ende etet sijn vleesch ende drinct sijn bloet, | Ende dene herte dandere verteert, | Dene siele dandere met storme doreueert, | Also hi ons toende die selue es minne; | Dat gheet bouen menschen sinne, | Die one hem seluen gaf tetenne.'

<sup>47</sup> Letter 9 (Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 66) is a good illustration of how Hadewijch, like Ruusbroec, Suso, and Tauler after her, continues to use two kinds of formulae about union with God. Other expressions of 'strong' identity are frequent; e.g. the union with the three persons of the Trinity in Letter 17. 101–11 (*ibid.*, p. 84), and the annihilation of the will that leads to becoming 'with him all that he himself is' in Letter 19. 50–61 (*ibid.*, p. 90).

<sup>48</sup> Hadewijch cites Song 2. 16 fourteen times, far more than any other passage from the Song

merging of persons in non-scriptural ways. In Letter 31, for example, God says to her: 'Your hunger disposes me to prepare everything for you. So that what I am shall be yours. [...] Your death and mine shall be one. Therefore, we shall live with one life and one love shall satisfy the hunger of us both.'<sup>49</sup>

As Hadewijch's letters show, she reflected much on the bond between love of God and love of neighbour.<sup>50</sup> Mystics since Augustine had insisted that the only way to find Christ's divinity was through his humanity. Hadewijch has her own version of this theme in her teaching about the necessity of living, or being one, with both the humanity and the divinity of Christ. In Letter 6, for example, she counsels: 'With the humanity of Christ you must live here in the labours and sorrows of exile, while within your soul you love and rejoice with the Omnipotent, and Eternal Divinity is sweet abandonment.'<sup>51</sup> Living the humanity of God involves not just sharing in Christ's sufferings, but also taking part in his acts of loving service. The beguine's notion of the *imitatio Christi* is first and foremost an *imitatio amoris* (imitation of love). As Letter 3 says, we must continually think on 'that holy virtue which he himself is and which he was in his way of acting when he lived as a man'. In this way we will come 'to touch Christ in his mystery' when we put into practice 'the brotherly love that lives in the charity of Jesus Christ', and 'support the brotherly love in whatever it may be'.<sup>52</sup>

of Songs: 'Poems in Stanzas', 3. 61–63 (Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 136), 5. 83 (p. 147), 12. 67 (p. 159), 13. 50 (p. 161), 25. 9–10 (p. 196), 27. 46 (p. 204), 34. 47–48 (p. 225), 36. 91–92 (p. 233), and 38. 44 (p. 239); 'Poems in Couplets', 16. 49–50 (p. 353); Vision 1. 395–400 (p. 270); and Letter 13. 16 (p. 75), Letter 14. 34 (p. 77), and Letter 19. 4 (p. 89).

<sup>49</sup> Letter 31. 14–20, Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 121; Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 263: 'Die hongher dijnre zielen, seghet hi, doet mi di al ghereiden, dat ic dine sal sijn dat ich ben [...]. Dine doet ende de mine selen een sijn. Daer omme selen wi met enen leuene leuen, ende een Minne sal onser beiden hongher saden.' On Hadewijch's use of the topos of mystical hunger, see Duclow, 'The Hungers of Hadewijch and Eckhart'.

<sup>50</sup> Hadewijch's teaching on the relation of love of God and love of others is found throughout her works. I concentrate on the letters for brevity's sake.

<sup>51</sup> Letter 6. 117–19 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 59): 'Metter menscheit gods suldi hier leuen in aerbeide ende in ellenden, Ende metten moghenden eweleken god suldi Minnen ende Jubileren van binnen met enen sueten toeuerlate'. (My own translation in this case.) For this theme in the letters, see Letter 6. 86–145 and 204–73; Letter 18. 1–12; and Letter 29. 52–90.

<sup>52</sup> Letter 3. 3–29 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 32–34), quoting lines 2–5 ('Dat ghi ghedinct al vren der heylegher doghet die he selue es Ende die hi was in seden doen hi minsche leuede'), 27–29 ('alsoe doet die broederlike minne die leuet in die caritate ihesu christi: Si ondersteet die broederlike minne welc het si') (Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 52).

The insistence on loving everyone,<sup>53</sup> that is, both those who are devoted to God, as well as the sinners who reject his love,<sup>54</sup> is rooted in a fundamental aspect of Hadewijch's teaching — her claim that in order to possess the Beloved, we must act towards all we meet 'according to the sublimity of the Beloved', namely, with the courtliness of his love. Hadewijch, however, seems to continue to conceive of the relation between active love of neighbour and contemplative love of God in terms of oscillating movements, as we have seen with Gregory and Bernard. The same letter says that as long as we do not possess Christ, we serve him by practicing the virtues, but that the situation is different when we are admitted to loving union: 'But when we are admitted to intimacy with the Beloved himself, all the things by which service was previously carried on must be excluded and banished from memory.'<sup>55</sup>

The *imitatio amoris* by which we strive to live both the humanity and the divinity of Jesus is rooted in the divine nature, which Hadewijch, like Dionysius, saw as essentially love, or in her vernacular, *minne*. We are enjoined to love God with the same love with which he loves himself, and Hadewijch often experiences this love as being drawn into the life of the three persons of the Trinity.<sup>56</sup> The nature of divine love is so powerful that it goes beyond all categories of satisfaction and repose. Divesting itself of repose, or friends and enemies, such love, Hadewijch says in Letter 13, 'wants a frightening life, that we must do without the satisfaction of love in order to satisfy love.' The interior magnetism of infinite love is such that those who experience it 'feel love as so vast and so incomprehensible' that 'they find themselves too small for this and too inadequate to satisfy that essence which is love.'<sup>57</sup> Hadewijch does not use the term 'essential love' (*weselike minne*)

<sup>53</sup> For example, Letter 24. 1–14 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 103).

<sup>54</sup> For example, Letter 6. 54–75 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 57–58).

<sup>55</sup> See Letter 21. 21–39; Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 94. The passage cited is in Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 178, lines 37–40: 'Mer also men lief selue pleghen sal, soe selen alle die dinghen daer dienst te voren omme ghedaen was, buten ghesloten sijn ende binnen vergheten.'

<sup>56</sup> On loving God with the same love with which he loves himself, see Letter 16. 9–40 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 80–81). There are accounts of Hadewijch's experience of being drawn into the Trinity in Letter 17 and Letter 30. 107–77 (*ibid.*, I, 82–84 and 118–19). Letter 28 (*ibid.*, I, 109–13), which may not be authentic, is also deeply Trinitarian.

<sup>57</sup> Letter 13. 34–52 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 115). The lines quoted are 37–39 ('Ende dat es een vreselijc leuen dat minne wilt, datmen ghenoechten van hare moet ontberen omme hare ghenoech to doene') and 48–52 ('ende si gheuoelen Minne soe groet ende soe onbegripelec, Ende vinden hen seluen daer toe te cleyne Ende te onghenoechleec, dien wesene ghenoech te sine dat Minne es').

later found in Ruusbroec. Her equivalent seems to be the expression 'veritable love' (*gherechte minne/ghewarighe minne*), which she uses in Letter 19 to gloss the identification of God as love in 1 John 4. 16, and which appears at least ten times across the letters.<sup>58</sup>

Hadewijch's meditations on the power and possibilities of *minne* were enriched by two developments in fourteenth-century mysticism. The first was the notion that active love was not just an inferior modality of loving, but actually might be a higher manifestation of divine *erôs*. The second was the teaching that since the love that is God is a paradoxical fusion of fruitive repose and loving action, the supreme mode of participating in this love involves an activity that is a form of contemplation and a contemplation that can be fully active — a state that can be described as *in actione contemplativus* ('being active in contemplation'), to use a phrase later said of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556).

Meister Eckhart's preaching seems to be the earliest surviving example of the new way of thinking about active and contemplative love.<sup>59</sup> Although Eckhart hewed to the traditional reading in some references to the Mary and Martha story of Luke 10, in his German Sermon (Pr.) 86 he reversed the standard interpretation by claiming that Mary lost in contemplative pleasure in God was inferior to the active Martha, who had 'learned life' and come to live 'out of a well-exercised ground.'<sup>60</sup> Therefore, Eckhart says, 'Martha knew Mary better than Mary Martha, for Martha had lived long and well; and living gives the most valuable kind of knowledge.'<sup>61</sup> Christ called Martha's name twice, according to Eckhart, to indicate that she possessed perfection in temporal works, as well as in everything nec-

<sup>58</sup> Letter 19. 30–36 (Hadewijch, *Brieven*, ed. by Van Mierlo, I, 164; Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Hart, p. 89). For other appearances of 'veritable love', see Letter 6. 350–60 (edn, I, 69; trans., p. 63), Letter 12. 65 and 138 (edn, I, 104 and 107; trans., pp. 71–72), Letter 15. 28 (edn, I, 125; trans., p. 78), Letter 20. 1–2 (edn, I, 170; trans., p. 90), Letter 21. 9 (edn, I, 177; trans., p. 93), Letter 27. 1–10 (edn, I, 220–21; trans., p. 107), Letter 30. 1–13 (edn, I, 252; trans., p. 116), and Letter 31. 29–31 (edn, I, 264; trans., p. 121).

<sup>59</sup> For the theological context of Eckhart's discussion of action and contemplation, see Haas, 'Die Beurteilung der Vita contemplativa und activa in der Dominikanermystik'.

<sup>60</sup> Meister Eckhart's writings will be cited according to the critical edition: Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke*, ed. by Geyer and others. The edition is divided into two sections: *Die deutschen Werke*, and *Die lateinischen Werke*. Pr. 86 can be found in *Die deutschen Werke*, III, 481–92. There are several translations. I will use that of Frank Tobin in Meister Eckhart, *Teacher and Preacher*, ed. by McGinn, Tobin, and Borgstadt, pp. 338–45. I have further comments on the sermon in McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart*, pp. 157–61.

<sup>61</sup> Pr. 86 (Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke*, ed. by Geyer and others, III, 482. 17–19): 'Marthâ bekante baz Marien dan Maria Marthen, wan si lange und wol gelebet hâte; wan leben gibet daz edelste bekennen.'

essary for eternal happiness. By her 'rational activity in time' she fulfilled Paul's command to 'redeem the times' (Ephesians 5. 16). Hence, Eckhart goes on to say, 'Martha was so grounded in her being that her activity did not hinder her. Work and activity led her to eternal happiness'.<sup>62</sup> Mary sitting at Christ's feet in contemplative repose is only at the first stage of her education in love. When she 'learns to live', she too will become a Mary-Martha and be able to express her contemplative love in the midst of apostolic action.

This teaching, which has been termed an inner-worldly mysticism, is not an anomaly of this sermon, but appears throughout Eckhart's preaching. At the end of his Christmas sermon cycle on the Birth of the Word in the soul (Prr. 101–04), for example, he describes the interpenetration of active and contemplative love, again referring to Mary and Martha. Speaking of our fundamental obligation as Christians, Eckhart says: 'There is only one thing, that a person be rooted nowhere else than in the same ground of contemplation and make it fruitful in works, and thus the purpose of contemplation is achieved [...]. Thus in working we possess nothing but a state of contemplation in God; the one rests in the other and brings it to fulfilment'.<sup>63</sup> For Eckhart the truest contemplation is realized in fruitful action.<sup>64</sup>

Later in the fourteenth century, the Dutch mystic Jan van Ruusbroec took up these issues and developed his own approach based on his teaching about the soul's three modes of union with God and his description of the goal of Christian existence as the 'common life' (*ghemeyne leven*), a form of living that, at one and the same time, participates in God's essential and active love: both repose and work. Ruusbroec distinguished three forms of union with God.<sup>65</sup> The first

<sup>62</sup> Pr. 86 (Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke*, ed. by Geyer and others, III, 491. 6–7): 'Marthâ was sô weselich, daz sie ir gewerp niht enhinderte; werk und gewerp leitte sie ze êwiger saelde.'

<sup>63</sup> Pr. 104A (Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke*, ed. by Geyer and others, IV.1, 580. 159–581. 173; my trans.): 'Dâ enist niht dan einz, man engrîfet niergen dan in dem selben grunt der schouwunge und maht daz vruhtbaere in der wûrkunge; und dâ wirt diu meinunge der schouwunge volbrâht [...]. Alsô in dirre wûrklicheit enhât man anders niht dan eine schouwelicheit in gote: daz eine ruowet in dem andern und volbringet daz ander.'

<sup>64</sup> For a study of this aspect of Eckhart's thought and how it was taken up by his follower John Tauler, see Mieth, *Die Einheit von Vita activa und Vita contemplativa*.

<sup>65</sup> The three kinds of union already appear in Ruusbroec's earliest writing, the *Realm of Lovers* (*Dat rijcke der gbelieven*, hereafter *Rijcke*). It forms the structure of the three books of his masterpiece, the *Spiritual Espousals* (*Die geestelike brulocht*, hereafter *Brulocht*). It also reappears in his late treatise, the *Little Book of Clarification* (*Dat boeckken der verclaringhe*, hereafter *Boeckken*). These and Ruusbroec's other writings will be cited according to the edition of the Ruusbroecgenootschap: Ruusbroec, *Opera omnia*, ed. by de Baere and others. I will cite according to the appropriate sections of each text and the line numbers of the Dutch, using the

is 'being united with an intermediary' ('verenecht overmids middel': *Boecksken*, line 71), the standard encounter with God through the ordinary means of grace, which takes place in the active life. Next comes 'being united without an intermediary' ('gheenecht sonder middel': *Boecksken*, line 168), which is a loving union with the three persons of the Trinity in the Augustinian powers of the soul (memory, understanding, and will). This union is realized in the spiritual life and involves both knowing and loving, as well as rest and action. As Ruusbroec put it in *The Little Book of Enlightenment*: 'This simple knowledge and experience of God is possessed in essential love (*weseleke minne*) and is exercised and maintained in active love.' This union between the loving soul and God is without intermediary, but it still maintains a distinction between Creator and creature: 'Though this union between the loving soul and God is without intermediary, there is nevertheless a great distinction, for the creature does not become God nor God the creature.'<sup>66</sup> In such an expression of essential love, union without intermediary becomes what Ruusbroec calls 'a common life of the contemplative person' ('een ghemeine leven scouwender menschen': *Boecksken*, lines 289–90).

The difference between union without intermediary and the third mode, that is, the 'union without difference' ('enecheit sonder diferentie': *Boecksken*, line 438) that characterizes the true contemplative or superessential life, is subtle. The transition comes about in this manner. The three persons of the Trinity continue to draw the higher powers of the soul back into their inner life in the second mode of union until all awareness of the distinction between God and creature is lost. This state is made possible because of the unique nature of the highest mode of love in God. Ruusbroec characterizes the supreme form of love as both 'essential love' (*weselike minne*, i.e. from God's perspective), and as 'superessential love' (*overweselike minne*, i.e. from our perspective). He also uses terms like 'fruitive love' (*ghebrukeleke minne*), 'fruitive blessedness' (*ghebruckelijcke salicheit*), 'empty fruition' (*legigh ghebrucken*), and 'bare empty love' (*bloete legighe minne*).<sup>67</sup> Insofar as God is a Trinity of persons, love ceaselessly flows out and back from the divine nature

English translation provided in the edition.

<sup>66</sup> *Boecksken*, lines 266–75: 'Dit eenvoldeghe weten ende ghevoelen gods wert beseten in weseleke minne. Ende hieromme eest den crachten toevallach overmids stervende inkeer in minnen [...]. Ende al es die eninghe tusschen den minnenden gheest ende gode sonder middel, daer es nochtan groet onderscheet. Want die creature en wirt niet god noch god creature.'

<sup>67</sup> Ruusbroec has many discussions of the supreme height of love; see, e.g., *Rijcke*, IV, 2341–61; *Brulocht*, b 1154–65, 1984–2002, and c 114–25; and *Boecksken*, lines 246–72 and 438–46. It also appears in other works, such as the *Sparkling Stone* (*Steen*, 559–64); the *Seven Enclosures* (*Sloten VII*, 1116–35); the *Mirror of Eternal Blessedness* (*Spiegel*, 763–80); and the *Twelve Beguines* (*xii Beghinen*, I 617–62, 2b 850–63 and 1294–1304, and 2c 788–812).

(*natuere*) in the interplay of active and essential love; but insofar as the unknown God is pure essence (*luter wesen*), that is, 'above all distinction in essential enjoyment according to the bare essence of divinity' (*Boecksen*, lines 440–41), human spirits 'melt away', 'are annihilated', and 'fall away from themselves to be lost in a bottomless unknowing' (*Boecksen*, lines 449–51). In attempting to describe the ineffable state of the third mode of union, Ruusbroec sometimes uses language as daring as that of Meister Eckhart.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, his insistence that all three modes of union continue to exist and to interact, both here and in heaven, gives his mysticism its own distinctive character and enables it to escape some of the objections raised against Eckhart.

Ruusbroec's notion of the 'common life', noted above, has been rightly seen as central to his mystical teaching. It is also the key to his way of relating action and contemplation. But what does *ghemeyne leven* really mean? The phrase has been aptly translated as 'a life of harmonious integration of charitable activity and "enjoyment" of God'.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, because we participate in the common life only insofar as we are united with God and Christ as exemplars, models, and sources of this life, the 'commonness' of the common life suggests a translation along the lines of the 'integral loving life', a term that can apply, at least analogously, both to God and to us. A passage from *The Spiritual Espousals* expresses the connection between God's 'commonness' and our own. In describing how the 'outflowing generous commonness of the divine nature' amazes those who gaze upon it, Ruusbroec says: 'The incomprehensible richness and sublimity and outflowing generous commonness of the divine nature draw a person into [a state of] astonishment. And, in particular, the commonness of God and most of all his outflowing cause this person astonishment. For he sees the incomprehensible essence as a common enjoyment of God and all the saints.'<sup>70</sup> In other words, the dialectical polarity of the modes of love, both essential love and active love, is the best statement that we can make about God's nature. Because God is the source

<sup>68</sup> Other examples of Ruusbroec's strong expressions of indistinction can be found, for example, in *Brulocht*, c 123–24 and c 249–51, as well as in the *Seven Steps* (*Trappen VII*, 1155).

<sup>69</sup> See van Nieuwenhove, *Jan van Ruusbroec*, p. 163. For a short description of the 'common life', see Dupré, *The Common Life*, pp. 49–51 and 63–64.

<sup>70</sup> Ruusbroec, *Brulocht*, b 1083–90: 'Die ombegripelijcke rijcheit ende hocheit ende uitvloeiyende milde ghemeynheit godlijcker natueren, die treect den mensche in een verwonderen. Ende zonderlinghe verwonderdesen mensche der ghemeinheit gods ende sijns ute vloeyens boven alle dinc. Want hi siet dat ombegripelijc wesen een ghemeyne ghebrucken gods ende alre heilighen.' The adjective *ghemeyn* and the phrase *dat ghemeyne leven* are used more often of the human lover, but a number of passages speak of God's commonness; e.g. *Brulocht*, 74–75; *Sloten*, 876–81; *xii Beghinen*, 2b 660–64; *Trappen II*, 37–39; and *Rijcke*, iv, 2752–56.

and the goal of all our efforts to love, it is only by sharing in God's commonness — that is, divine integral love — that we can attain the true concomitance of action and contemplation.

Leaving the last word to Ruusbroec, inspiring though he remains, is scarcely the closure of my theme. Obviously, there can be no last word when it comes to understanding and putting into practice the biblical teaching on love. What I have tried to suggest is that the history of the relation between love of God and love of neighbour in Christian mysticism is a developing series of variations on a complex set of themes.

During the medieval period many mystics were deeply influenced by Augustine and Dionysius and their attempts to show that both love of God and love of neighbour were necessary and necessarily reciprocal. For all their agreement on the need for reciprocity, these two fathers of medieval mysticism had differing views on attaining God, with Augustine emphasizing that the best we can strive for in this life is a brief vision or touching of infinite love, while Dionysius taught that the goal of the ascent process was gaining ecstatic union with divine *erôs*. Early medieval mystics, like Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux, developed Augustinian ways of conceiving of an oscillation between active love and contemplative love leading towards a loving union of the human spirit and the divine Spirit (*unitas spiritus*: 1 Corinthians 6. 17). Some late medieval mystics, such as Hadewijch, Eckhart, and Ruusbroec, moved towards an understanding of the power of *minne* that was so strong that it was not only able to fuse love of God and love of neighbour, but also to unite the human and divine lovers into one supreme reality, what Ruusbroec called 'essential love'.

The interaction of these variations among the medieval mystics might be compared to the constant motion of waves on the surface of the sea. A younger contemporary of Ruusbroec's, the Spanish mystic Ramon Lull (d. 1316), referred to such ever-changing movement in one of the aphorisms in his *Book of the Lover and Beloved*: 'Love is an ocean. Its waves are troubled by the winds. It has no port or shore. The Lover perished in this ocean, and with him his torments perished, and the work of his fulfillment began.'<sup>71</sup>

Bernard McGinn

Naomi Shenstone Donnelly Professor emeritus, Divinity School  
University of Chicago

<sup>71</sup> Lull, *The Book of the Lover and Beloved*, ed. by Leech, p. 73. Ruusbroec also speaks of love drawing us on 'to flow into the wild waves of the sea from which no creature would ever draw us back' (*Brulocht*, c 255–56).

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## RAMON LULL'S *BOOK OF THE GENTILE AND THE THREE SAGES*: EMPATHY OR APOLOGY?

Marcia L. Colish

Ramon Lull (d. 1316) has evoked controversy from the Middle Ages to the present. In 1376, the Aragonese Inquisitor-General declared him a heretic, a censure confirmed by papal bull that same year. The translation of the Majorcan lay theologian's Catalan works into Latin raised scholastic hackles. In 1390, Chancellor Gerson banned Lullism at the University of Paris. This prohibition bound the Faculty of Theology despite papal rescission of the 1376 bull in 1416. In the sixteenth century, the same University of Paris hosted a Renaissance revival of Lull, led by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and his followers, which gained notable adherents up through Leibniz. Early modern Europe also saw the renewal of scholastic debates on Lull, with Neo-Thomists disputing whether his views on faith and reason squared with the Angelic Doctor's. The Neo-Thomist revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries revived that issue.<sup>1</sup> With Thomism passé as a norm for judging Christian thought,

<sup>1</sup> For Lull *pro* and *con* through the sixteenth century, the basic survey remains Carreras y Artau and Carreras y Artau, *Historia de la filosofía española*, II, 30–44, 91–99. Dealing primarily with scholastics of the early modern period, but reprising medieval criticisms of Lull, is Madre, *Die theologische Polemik gegen Raimundus Lullus*, with an important discussion of modern neo-scholastic debates at pp. 95–140. For other works on late medieval and early modern reactions to Lull, see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, esp. pp. 13–21, 213, 259–60, 269–70, 283–88, 318; Johnston, 'The Reception of the Lullian *Art*'; Bonner, in his Introduction to Lull, *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Bonner, I, 71–78, 101–02; and, following Madre but giving only the pro-Lull side of the story, Bonner, 'El arte luliano como método del Renacimiento a Leibniz'. For the Lullian revival in France, see Victor, 'The Revival of Lullism at Paris', and Victor, 'Charles de Bovelles and Nicholas de Pax'; Gayà, 'Algunos temas lulianos'; Hughes, *Lefèvre*, pp. 11–13, 26,

some recent scholars have sought to normalize Lull's theology as an exercise in Anselmian *fides quaerens intellectum*.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving aside celebrations of Lull's rich bequests to Catalan lexicography and literature,<sup>3</sup> promoters of Lull who focus on his inter-religious dialogue, the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Sages*, do so for two reasons. First, in this very early work (1274/76), Lull sketches what became a full-blown system in his later *Art*, his scheme for encompassing and cross-indexing all human knowledge. Second, revisionists hail the mutual respect and cordiality of Lull's Jewish, Christian, and Muslim interlocutors as a refreshing departure from the tradition of inter-religious acrimony. The *Book of the Gentile* thus emerges as a forerunner of Lessing's 'Nathan the Wise', seen as characteristic of Lull despite his hostility towards Judaism and Islam in later works.<sup>4</sup> This paper addresses the second of these con-

49–51, 64–67. Good surveys of more recent literature are provided by Bonner, 'The Current State of Studies on Ramon Llull's Thought'; and Lohr and Bonner, 'The Philosophy of Ramon Llull'.

<sup>2</sup> Garcías Palou, 'San Anselmo de Canterbury y el beato Ramon Llull'; Garcías Palou, 'Las "rationes necessariae" del Bro. Ramón Llull', pp. 323–24; Eijo Garay, 'Las "razones necesarias" del Beato Ramón Llull'; de Gandillac, 'Le rêve logique de Raymond Lulle', p. 192; Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, pp. 6, 21, 24–26, 237–38, 257; Xiberta, 'La doctrina del maestro Ramón Llull', pp. 156, 158, 161–62; Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 4, 5–7, 10–11, 19–20, 82, 108, 118–19, 133, 313; Johnston, *The Evangelical Rhetoric of Ramon Llull*, pp. 23–24, 34–36; Colomer, 'Raimund Lulls Stellung zu den Andersgläubigen', p. 227; Colomer, 'La actitud compleja y ambivalente de Ramon Llull', pp. 78, 90; de Courcelles, *La Parole risquée de Raymond Lulle*, pp. 49–50; Lohr, 'Ramon Llull and Thirteenth-Century Religious Dialogue', pp. 125–27; Lohr, 'Ramon Llull: Philosophische Anstösse', pp. 38, 48–49; Judycka, 'Anselmian Echoes in Ramon Llull's Thought'; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 256–74.

<sup>3</sup> An entire multivolume dictionary has been dedicated to Lull's Catalan usage: Colom Mateu, *Glossari General lul·lià*. There are also extensive references to Lull's lexicon in the Corominas and others, *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana*. Bonner and Ripoll Perelló, *Diccionari de definicions lul·lianes*, is more conceptually oriented and focuses on definitions in Lull's later works. My thanks to José Bunsen Cardenas for the Corominas reference. For recent philological scholarship on Lull, see Martí i Castell, 'Ramon Llull, creador de la llengua literària', with extensive bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> The fullest treatment and critique of the literature on this point is provided by Friedlein, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull*, pp. 88–97, who also gives a thorough review of medieval inter-religious dialogues in Latin and the vernaculars and indicates Lull's parallels with and departures from them, at pp. 2–88. See also Colomer, 'Raimund Lulls Stellung zu den Andersgläubigen'; Colomer, 'La actitud compleja y ambivalente de Ramon Llull'; de Courcelles, *La Parole risquée de Raymond Lulle*; Lohr, 'Ramon Llull and Thirteenth-Century Religious Dialogue'; Lohr, 'Ramon Llull: Philosophische Anstösse'; Udina i Cobo, 'Sentido y límites del "diálogo interreligioso"', p. 757. For this dialogue as forecasting Lull's mature *Art* and as launching his missionary polemics against Judaism and Islam, see most recently Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. ix, x, xii, 1, 3, 12, 16–21, 65–67, 256–57, 267–68, 273, 295, 299.

cerns. Does the *Book of the Gentile* advocate a pathbreaking rational ecumenism? Or, does Lull compare the religions of his three sages to the advantage of one of them? In addressing these questions, we will consider two issues: the stylistic strategies he adopts in his use of the dialogue genre and his basic understanding of rational argument itself.

Written in Catalan and translated into Latin in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries,<sup>5</sup> the *Book of the Gentile* contains a Preface and four Books. The Preface introduces the Gentile. Lull's Gentile is a figure who possesses no philosophical or theological presuppositions whatsoever. All that Lull grants him is the fear of death as personal annihilation. The Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sages with whom he talks in the body of the work offer him conceptual foundations for certitude about life after death. The principles concerning God and ethics which they establish are not ends in themselves but grounds for belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, and the posthumous punishments and rewards consequent to human moral choices.

Before meeting the Gentile, however, the sages encounter a figure whose lines, if brief, are critical to the dialogue's method of argument. She is Lady Intelligence. She tells the sages how to make their case for God's goodness, greatness, eternity, power, wisdom, love, and perfection, and for the cardinal and theological virtues and their correlative vices. These concepts are envisioned as flowers blooming on metaphysical or ethical trees — and, indeed, texts of this work, from an early date, contain pertinent visual aids. Lady Intelligence reinforces understandings of the relationships between sets of similar terms found in Lull's translation, into Catalan

<sup>5</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner. Bonner also reproduces, adjacent to the pertinent passages, examples of the illustrations typically accompanying its medieval manuscripts. The still-standard edition of the Latin translation is Llull, *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*, ed. by Salzinger. There is a good translation of the Catalan text by Bonner, 'The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men', in Llull, *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Bonner, I, 95–305. Bonner supplies data on manuscripts, translations, and editions in the introduction to his edition, I, pp. xxiii–xxxvii and to his translation, I, pp. xxxi, 75–76, 101–02. On the one hand, some scholars think that the work was first written in Arabic and then translated, by Lull himself, into Catalan although no Arabic text has ever surfaced. See, for example, de Gandillac, 'Le rêve logique de Raymond Lulle', pp. 190–91; Colomer, 'Raimund Lulls Stellung zu den Andersgläubigen', pp. 221–22. On the other hand, Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, p. 7, and Friedlein, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull*, p. 59, state the consensus position. In thinking about Lull's intended audience for this and his other Catalan works, it is worth recalling that, far from being a highly localized language maintained out of nostalgia or desire for a less-centralized polity, Catalan in Lull's day was the most widely spoken Iberian vernacular, the Crown of Aragon's language of public record, in use throughout its overseas empire, and a *lingua franca* of merchants and travellers in the Mediterranean world whatever their religion or homeland.

verse, of the *Logic* of Al-Ghazzali (c. 1275). Lull's definitions do not always correspond with Ghazzali's. Lull's *convenientia*, the norm of theological congruity, is his rendering of Ghazzali's conventional or ambiguous terms, which stand midway between univocity and equivocity. Ghazzali's synonymy, in Lull's hands, becomes *equiparantia*, which, for Lull, proves the equivalence of correlative terms and the identification of antecedents with consequents.<sup>6</sup> Lull also inverts Ghazzali's teaching in asserting that arguments framed as hypothetical syllogisms, no less than as categorical syllogisms, have the force of scientific demonstrations.<sup>7</sup>

Some of these claims also reflect the vagueness and polyvalence of Lull's Catalan. His *equiparantia* has a semantic range that includes equality, association, parity, brotherhood, and sisterhood. Since they do not contradict each other, Lady Intelligence observes, such terms are co-equal.<sup>8</sup> Some of them refer to essential qualities, others to accidental ones. In Lull's view, statements about all these kinds of relationships yield demonstrative knowledge, *demonstratió*, even necessary reasons, *rahons demonstratives necessaries*, as Lady Intelligence puts it. Yet, in Lull's lexicon, while conclusions that are necessary, *necessàri* and its cognates, pertain to apodictic theological truths, these terms also describe conditions that are merely possible, unexcogitated or nonverbal signs of a state of affairs, anything that reports or displays something else, what we lack or what others require of us, or whatever we have to do in order to gain an objective.<sup>9</sup> Lady Intelligence coun-

<sup>6</sup> Llull, 'La Lògica del Gazzali', ed. by Rubió Balaguer, lines 799–1079, 1224–35, 1444–46 (pp. 343–46, 347–48, 350). Some of these departures from Ghazzali are noted by scholars competent in Arabic, such as Rubió Balaguer, Introduction to Llull, 'La Lògica del Gazzali', ed. by Rubió Balaguer, pp. 321–23; Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, pp. 7, 15, 19–20; Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 31–44. There is no evidence that Lull knew of the availability of Ghazzali's *Logic* in a thirteenth-century Latin translation. On that topic, see al-Ghazali, 'Logica Algazelis', ed. by Lohr.

<sup>7</sup> Llull, 'La Lògica del Gazzali', ed. by Rubió Balaguer, lines 358–63, 432, 505–12, 669–70 (pp. 337, 338, 341). Noted by Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, p. 140.

<sup>8</sup> Llull, 'La Lògica del Gazzali', ed. by Rubió Balaguer, lines 1444–46 (p. 350); Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, Prologue, lines 113–21 (p. 9).

<sup>9</sup> Llull, 'La Lògica del Gazzali', ed. by Rubió Balaguer, lines 241–46, 669–70 (pp. 335, 341); Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, Prologue, line 180 (p. 12). See also Colom Mateu, *Glossari General Lul·lià*, s.v. 'demonstratió', II, 42–44; s.v. 'necessàri', III, 409. Lull's imprecision in the use of these terms is noted by Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 109–20 and Artus, 'Faith and Reason in Aquinas and Llull', p. 65. Bonner and Ripoll Perelló, *Diccionari de definicions lul·lianes*, s.v. 'demonstratio' and 'necessari/necessitat', pp. 140, 227–28, indicate that Lull tightened up these definitions in his later work. But, noting that Lull's earlier lexical imprecisions still exist in his later work, Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon*

sels argumentation based on these understandings and usages, which Lull's sages invoke throughout the dialogue. Both they and the Gentile treat the conclusions they yield as rational demonstrations. As with some scholastics, who regarded these claims as bizarre when Lull's work was translated into an academic Latin marked by logical rigour and technical precision, some modern scholars have been cool to his reasoning.<sup>10</sup>

Lady Intelligence having completed her prefatory remarks, Book I follows. It has inspired much appreciation for its ecumenical character. The three sages agree that one of their number — and, significantly, Lull does not specify which one, his point being that it can be any of them — will demonstrate to the Gentile general propositions which their religions share. The unidentified speaker first proves God's existence with a degrees-of-being argument, offered as so obvious that it brooks no objection. He then asserts that God's greatness and goodness are equally evident corollaries of God's existence; this conclusion is also obvious to the human mind, 'manifesta cosa es al human enteniment'.<sup>11</sup> Then, using *equiparantia* and *convenientia*, he infers the other divine attributes. Whether some of them possess priority, or greater epistemic weight than others, is a ques-

*Llull*, pp. 256–57, 267–68, argues that these understandings of terms should be read not as misconstructions of Lull's sources but simply as indices of his originality.

<sup>10</sup> Those flagging scholastic objections include Cordeschi, 'I sillogismi di Lullo', pp. 259–61; Artus, 'Faith and Reason in Aquinas and Lull', p. 65. Useful surveys of modern assessments of the rational force of Lull's argumentation are provided by Gracia, 'La doctrina Luliana de las razones necesarias', and more recently Lohr, 'Ramon Lull's Theory of Scientific Demonstration', pp. 729, 730, 742–43. Those who think that Lull's reasoning is probative include Carreras y Artau and Carreras y Artau, *Historia de la filosofía española*, II, 129 n. 78; Bonner, 'L'Art de Ramon Llull com a sistems lògica'; Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*, passim; Badia, *Teoria i pràctica de la literatura en Ramon Llull*, pp. 23–35; Lohr, 'Ramon Lull and Thirteenth-Century Religious Dialogue'; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 256–74. Some limit the force of Lull's reasoning to equiparant arguments; see Artus, 'Faith and Reason in Aquinas and Lull', pp. 64–65; Ruiz Simon, *L'Art de Ramon Llull*, pp. 31–45; Judycka, 'Anselmian Echoes in Ramon Lull's Thought', pp. 327–35. Others maintain that his argumentation is designed not to be probative but only probable; see Garcías Palou, 'San Anselmo de Canterbury y el beato Ramon Llull'; Eijo Garay, 'Las "razones necesarias" del Beato Ramón Llull'; Xiberta, 'La doctrina del maestro Ramón Llull'; Sugranyes de Franch, 'Le "Livre du Gentil et des Trois Sages" de Raymond Lulle', pp. 322–24, 333; Cordeschi, 'I sillogismi di Lullo', pp. 261–64; Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 109–20; Johnston, *The Evangelical Rhetoric of Ramon Llull*, pp. 34–36; Lohr, 'Ramon Llull: Philosophische Anstösse', pp. 38, 48–49. Didier, *Raymond Lulle*, p. 133, is alone in regarding Lull's arguments as appealing to Jungian archetypes.

<sup>11</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, I. 1 (p. 15). Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*, p. 88, presents the degrees-of-being argument as persuasive.

tion which Lull does not raise. He does not mention the doctrine of the transcendentals, available in Arabic as well as Latin.<sup>12</sup> In any case, having discussed the respective co-inherence of the virtues and their opposing vices, and their similarities to and differences from the divine virtues, the speaker moves to life after death, the Gentile's basic concern.

Establishing God's justice and wisdom as correlative of his goodness, he concludes that the perdurance of God's punishments and rewards must be eternal, requiring the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.<sup>13</sup> Only towards the end of Book I does Lull qualify the force of the necessary reasons which he ascribes to these arguments. God must exist, the speaker observes, to guarantee the accuracy of our faith and the correctness of our path to eternal felicity.<sup>14</sup> He ignores the fact that the test of these verities remains *ex post facto*.

The sages treat as generally accepted the arguments and conclusions of their *confrère* in Book I. Still, they acknowledge that their respective traditions nuance these themes. So they agree that each in turn will present his own variant, in order of seniority. The Jew speaks first, followed by the Christian and the Muslim. In considering the *Book of the Gentile* as an inter-religious dialogue, it is worth noting that the sages do not interact with each other in Books II–IV. Rather, in each book, the sage holding the floor engages one-on-one with the Gentile. The Gentile poses questions to each speaker. He does so not just to keep the conversation going and not just in aid of clarification. Indeed, how much and how sharply the Gentile questions each sage, and on what topics, and whether Lull grants his sages cogent replies, have much to say to the issue of empathy or apology in this dialogue.

The Gentile's conversation with the Jew, representing the earliest Abrahamic tradition, focuses on three themes. Only the first is unproblematic: namely, aspects of the doctrine of God which he shares with his colleagues and which he treats to the Gentile's satisfaction. Despite the sevenfold attributes of God elaborated in Book I, the Jewish sage establishes that the deity is one God, giver of the moral law, and creator of the universe *ex nihilo*. Since God is eternal, what he was doing before the Creation is a *question mal posée*. Evil in the universe stems

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Aertsen, *Medieval Philosophy and the Transcendentals*, who traces the Transcendentals from Aristotle and Avicenna through Aquinas. That this doctrine was known in the Latin school tradition before the thirteenth century, via Boethius, is shown by Valente, 'Names That Can Be Said of Everything'. For Arabic sources, see Lohr, 'The Islamic "Beautiful Name of God" and the Lullian Art'.

<sup>13</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, I. 8 (pp. 20–21).

<sup>14</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, I. 5 (pp. 37–38).

either from human sin or from God's punishment of it.<sup>15</sup> More fraught is the second topic, eschatology. The Gentile accepts that the blessed enjoy an enduring spiritual good in heaven. But, since sins are finite, why should the damned be punished eternally? And, if they have the same resurrected bodies as the blessed, how can this punishment be physical? Where is hell located? The Jewish sage's reply to these questions is not fully responsive. Evading the nature of the bodies of the damned, he states merely that their physical travails reflect divine justice. Although the subject of physical resurrection has been presented in Book I as a conviction shared by all three faiths, the Jewish sage admits that his co-religionists disagree on physical resurrection, although he personally supports this doctrine. He does not respond to the Gentile's concern at the lack of Jewish unanimity on so important a topic. Likewise, the Jewish sage admits that opinions in his tradition are divided on hell. Some locate it in this world, others underground, others in the air. Some say that hell is not a location at all but a purely spiritual state, the loss of the vision of God and of eternal glory. Others insist on its physicality, its fire and ice and eternal torment. The Jewish sage offers no personal opinion on these latter disagreements, leaving the Gentile both perplexed and unsatisfied.<sup>16</sup>

Also left hanging are God's role in the Last Judgement and the doctrine of the Messiah. The Gentile is not convinced that an invisible God can function effectively as the judge of people who cannot see him. The Jewish sage points out that God appeared in visible form to Old Testament worthies, and so he will appear at the Last Judgement. This response does not reassure the Gentile. Invoking the norm of *convenientia*, he observes that is it unfitting for a judge not to be, and not to be seen to be, himself by those he judges.<sup>17</sup> To this the Jewish sage offers no rejoinder. Even more of a stumbling block is the belief that the Messiah is still to come, liberating his people from their diaspora. As the Jewish sage acknowledges, at other times in the past, his people were enslaved or expelled from their homeland as God's punishment for their sins. The causes of the present diaspora, however, remain baffling. But, the Gentile asks, what if the Jews nowadays are also being punished for their sins? What if they have to own up to these sins and repent before the Messiah will release them from bondage? Finally, if he were to become a Jew, would he then have to take these sins, and this bondage, on his own shoulders? The Jewish sage has no reply to these questions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, II. 1–II. 3 (pp. 48–65).

<sup>16</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, II. 5, II. 7. 2–II. 8. 5 (pp. 71–73, 78–87).

<sup>17</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, II. 6. 6 (pp. 76–77).

<sup>18</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, II. 4. 1–II. 4. 5 (pp. 66–70).

Obviously, Lull wants to pose irreconcilable problems with Judaism in Book II. The Gentile's initial curiosity about the next life is met by a Jewish eschatology deemed inadequate and inconclusive. Lull infers that the Jews' lack of consensus results from scientific ignorance, the open-ended structure of the Talmud, or an eclipse of abstract theory itself reflecting their day-to-day preoccupation with material survival in the diaspora. And, is their real goal heaven, or a messianic earthly domain? The current diaspora ends Book II as the major disincentive to conversion for the Gentile. The non-responsiveness of the Jewish sage on this issue suggests that Lull regards the diaspora as deserved, and that no reasonable person would take on its liabilities voluntarily by conversion.

A notable shift occurs in the interaction of the Gentile with the Christian in Book III, the second of the three interrogations. The Christian sage presents a number of teachings which the Gentile accepts with little comment. These include creation, redemption, and the posthumous glorification of the saints. Pointedly omitted, given the way the topic is treated with the Jewish and Muslim sages, are Christian disagreements on Last Things, including physical resurrection.<sup>19</sup> The Gentile raises only one question here, on the joys of heaven. It is less a request for clarification than an opening for a response designed to elevate Christianity above the other two faiths. While the blessed will see what eye cannot see and hear what ear cannot hear, says the Christian sage, Christ will welcome them into the ineffable love bonding the persons of the Trinity, surpassing any perfection envisioned by Judaism or Islam.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, most of Book III treats those hardy perennials of debate with other monotheistic faiths, the Trinity and the incarnation. The Gentile raises some standard questions: If three persons express God's perfection, why not four, or a plurality, or an infinity of persons? If a father precedes a son, how can God the Father and God the Son be equal and co-eternal? How does the Holy Spirit proceed from both Father and Son? The Christian sage provides equally standard, and catechism-level, answers. They swiftly convince the Gentile and also provoke his next question: Why, then, do Jews and Muslims reject so plausible a doctrine? The Christian sage replies that, if they fully understood it, Jews and Muslims would be led by the force of reason to embrace its truth.<sup>21</sup>

The discussion is even more selective on the incarnation. Notwithstanding the Gentile's concerns, Book III omits Christ's teachings, the historicity of his resur-

<sup>19</sup> See Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*.

<sup>20</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, III. 7. 5 (pp. 124–26).

<sup>21</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, III. 2. 3–III. 2. 4, III. 4. 22 (pp. 90–95, 109–15); for the critique of Judaism and Islam, see III. 4. 22 (pp. 114–15).

rection, and much else. Resolving an issue raised and not settled in the conversation between the Gentile and the Jewish sage, the Christian sage notes that it is fitting that Christ should appear visibly at the end of time to conduct the Last Judgement.<sup>22</sup> The main topics aired on the incarnation are why Christ, among the Trinitarian persons, was the one incarnated and why he was crucified. Although much controverted by the Jews, neither the Gentile nor the Christian sage puts Mary's virginity on the agenda. The chief point is that, although she was of noble stock, her assent exemplified humility.<sup>23</sup> It was fitting for Christ, already a son to God the Father, to take on human nature as Mary's son. That he did so was also fitting as divine condescension to us, to facilitate our grasp of his message. Only in his human nature did Christ suffer on the Cross, to give us hope of salvation.<sup>24</sup> How this soteriology actually works in practice remains unexplained. Still, the Gentile is quite contented with this account of the incarnation and again asks why Jews and Muslims reject it as they do other doctrines reviewed earlier. As with the doctrine of the Trinity, says the Christian sage, their irrationality is to blame; but in this case, Christians are also at fault for not explaining their teaching more clearly.<sup>25</sup>

This is the only point at which the Christian sage admits any soft spots in his own tradition. Disagreements within the orthodox fold, not to mention the fact of Christian heresies, stand as strategic omissions. To the extent that eschatology figures in Book III, the sage aims to show that Jews and Muslims get it wrong and that they have a less sublime view of heaven than Christians. Both the Gentile and the Christian sage initiate discussion of the heavily edited teachings on the Trinity and incarnation cited. The Gentile, easily persuaded, assails Jewish and Muslim rejection of these doctrines, criticisms which the Christian sage promptly seconds.

There is also a significant shift in the byplay between the Gentile and his Muslim interlocutor, the last of the three sages, in Book IV. As with the Jewish sage, the Muslim sage is often at a loss in defending his beliefs, beliefs which the Gentile seeks actively to refute. Lull's Muslim reprises some issues the three

<sup>22</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, III. 14. 1 (pp. 153–54).

<sup>23</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, III. 9. 6 (pp. 137–38).

<sup>24</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, III. 8. 1–III. 8. 6, III. 10. 5 (pp. 126–31, 142–43).

<sup>25</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, III. 8. 6 (p. 131). For Christian polemics on this topos written in Latin in north-western Europe, c. 1050–1150, see Sapir Abulafia, *Jews and Christians*, pp. 3, 34–47, 77–141, and Sapir Abulafia, 'The Intellectual and Spiritual Quest for Christ', pp. 62–66.

sages enumerated earlier as common teachings, erecting a shared defence against becoming the butt of objections that might be levelled at any of them. A case in point is the doctrine of God. The Muslim states that God's omnipotence and foreknowledge are compatible with human responsibility for sin, a topic covered and not disputed by the Gentile in Books I and II. But here, the Gentile taxes the Muslim with inconsistency, for confusing God's foreknowledge with an omnicausality that nullifies human free will or, alternatively, for professing an omnipotent God who cannot accomplish what he wills. And here, the objection remains unanswered. Also, the Muslim simply asserts, rather than proving, that any kind of plurality in God violates the monotheistic principle.<sup>26</sup>

The chief topics of discussion, indeed, of controversy, in Book IV are Muhammad as prophet and Muslim eschatology. Not waiting to hear about Muhammad, the Gentile introduces this theme. He states that it is not fitting for God to have waited so long to commission his final prophet and for the last to convey his message only to one part of the world. This latter point is disingenuous, given the localization of both the Old and New Testament revelations and the missionary sweep of Islam. But the Muslim sage neither challenges nor responds to this sally. He replies merely that, since we have free will — a point problematized by his treatment of the doctrine of God — we can assent to the true path when it is presented to us, although God allows others to remain in ignorance.<sup>27</sup> Continuing his attack, the Gentile asks why, if Muhammad is the last of the true prophets, he disagrees with his predecessors. To this, the Muslim does not reply at all, changing the subject to Muhammad's virtues. The Gentile denies that these virtues account for the widespread appeal of Islam. If esteem in this world proves that one has been sent by God, how much the more does this apply to Christ, his apostles, and his martyrs? The Muslim sage fails to criticize this illogical idea, given that Christ, his apostles, and his martyrs scarcely received worldly honour. Nor does he compare the territorial sway of Islam with that of Christianity.<sup>28</sup>

Eschatology was a time-tested site of anti-Muslim polemic; but here Lull inserts topics that might also have been assigned to the Jewish or Christian sage. Why do we die, anyway? Do angels, lacking bodies, die? If so, what does the resurrection mean for them? How long will the Last Judgement take? How big will heaven and hell have to be to fit everyone in? Can anyone be prayed out of hell?

<sup>26</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, IV. 1–IV. 2 (pp. 160–62).

<sup>27</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, IV. 3. 2, IV. 8. 1 (pp. 163–64, 177–80).

<sup>28</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, IV. 3. 4 (pp. 165–66).

The Muslim sage states that the Last Judgement will last as long as it takes to cook an egg. Other than that, he dismisses or ignores these questions, except the last one, which occasions a barbed exchange. In contrast with Jews and Christians, he says, Muslims believe that the damned can be prayed out of hell. Muhammad graciously does so, proving that Muslims have greater faith in the power of prayer than Jews and Christians. In Book III, on eschatology, the Christian sage omits the doctrine of Purgatory. Lull appears unaware of other Christian options. His Gentile rejects the Muslim's claim, maintaining simply that the salvation of any of the damned lacks *convenientia* with God's justice.<sup>29</sup> More predictably, attention focuses on the sensible attractions of the Muslim heaven, with the Gentile recycling standard objections concerning the revirgination of the partners of the male saints, food supply, sewage disposal, and the like, adding that the Muslim doctrine of paradise is unfair to women. Replying that the Muslim view of resurrection is more compatible with human nature than the teachings of the philosophers and of the other two faiths, that life in heaven confirms status relations deemed natural in this life, and that, in any case, God will provide, the Muslim sage admits that thinkers in his own tradition disagree on physical resurrection and the joys of heaven. The philosophers of Islam get a strong tongue-lashing. They are rejected as heretics by other Muslims, he says, siding with the majority. Islam rightly prohibits the teaching of logic and natural philosophy in public. Authoritative truth is found only in the Koran and its accredited commentators. Closing his book as he concludes his speech, he reflects Lull's inference that these texts, not reasoned argument, have been his own sole sources.<sup>30</sup>

It is true that, throughout this dialogue, Lull avoids the most scurrilous canards of inter-religious debate, and the rites and morés that distinguish the three faiths. His text stands out for its remarkable stress on their commonalities and the compatibility with reason that unites them. At the end, the sages stop the Gentile from choosing among them and indicating his preferred version of monotheism. They state that religious commitment should be free and that their own reasoning will inform them of the Gentile's choice. Reason, they add, promotes the cogeny of a single faith and praxis. Their amity intact, they agree to continue the conversation.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, iv. 6. 1, iv. 8. 4–iv. 8. 5, iv. 11. 5 (pp. 173–74, 181–82, 191–92); for the Muslim's claim regarding Muhammad's praying the damned out of hell, see iv. 8. 4 (pp. 181–82). For the Christian tradition on praying of the damned out of hell and/or purgatory, see Colish, 'The Virtuous Pagan'.

<sup>30</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, iv. 5. 1, iv. 12 (pp. 171–72, 196–97).

<sup>31</sup> Llull, *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. by Bonner, Epilogue, 289–308 (pp. 208–09).

Yet there are elements in this text that problematize and undercut the cordial and ecumenical character of Lull's argument in Book I. The reasoning which he presents as the foundation of the three sages' doctrine of God is, as we have seen, seriously defective. Indeed, his medieval readers gave him very low marks as a logician. He shows himself lacking a grasp of what even elementary students of that discipline recognized as the differing types and degrees of certitude that derived from different kinds of syllogisms, the difference between identity and various kinds of similarity, and the strict criteria that arguments need to meet if they are to be regarded as proved by necessary reason. Lull's faulty logic compromises its utility as the sovereign method he uses to construct the theistic structure which he presents as the condominium of the three faiths.

But, even if one is convinced by his claim that his logic leads to that desired conclusion, highlighting important points of agreement among his sages, a close reading of the *Book of the Gentile* also presents evidence of its defence of Christianity, suggesting that this is the reasonable faith to which the Gentile will turn, rather than to Judaism or Islam. We can see how Lull structures this agenda into the conversations he gives to the Gentile and his interlocutors. Lull's account of all three religions is highly selective. He accentuates what he sees as negative features of Judaism and Islam, while omitting or under-reporting their strong points. His strategy is just the reverse in his account of Christianity. And, while all three sages subscribe to the theism advanced as rationally attainable to any human mind in Book I, in the event Lull often portrays the Jewish and Muslim sages as unable to draw coherent rational inferences from these first principles, or as detached from or disdainful of philosophical theology altogether. Moreover, Lull makes the same point in the speeches he assigns to the Gentile. This interlocutor finds the Christian sage's argument quite acceptable, although it is 'Christianity lite', and does not challenge it. At the same time, the Gentile often questions and criticizes the Jewish and Muslim sages, objections which they ignore, elide, or fail to address responsively. These aspects of the work indicate that Lull is not placing the three sages on a level playing field. Rather, he is using the dialogue genre to display the alleged shortcomings of Judaism and Islam and to promote the superiority of Christianity.<sup>32</sup> And so, the *Book of the Gentile* gives

<sup>32</sup> A strong and persuasive argument for this conclusion based on stylistic analysis is provided by Friedlein, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull*, pp. 88–99, 261; followed by Enders, 'Die Philosophie der Religionen bei Lullus und Cusanus', with additional literature on this point, and Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*. On this dialogue as a defence of Christianity, the religion that the Gentile is deemed to select, Lull cites it that way in his later work, as is discussed by de la Cruz Palma, 'Las culturas en contacto en el *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*'.

a double answer to the questions posed at the beginning of this paper. Stylistic and content analysis of the dialogue indicates a lack of parity among the three faiths and the privileging of Christianity. At the same time, despite Lull's lack of philosophical rigour and the flaws in the logic he uses to support the monotheism shared by his three sages, he does acknowledge their common beliefs, beliefs accessible to human intelligence as such. He does offer a view of interactions among their proponents guided by reason and mutual respect. Does the *Book of the Gentile* profess empathy or apology? Our answer is: Both.

*Marcia L. Colish*

Lecturer in History, Yale University

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## Part IV

### Humanism and Humanity: Testing the Limits of Empathy



# HELL AND PUNISHMENT, PAIN, AND SALVATION IN AUGUSTINE AND HIS COMMENTATOR JUAN LUIS VIVES

Sabine MacCormack\*

**T**he *City of God* is Augustine of Hippo's (354–430) extended conversation with his non-Christian contemporaries, and also with half-hearted Christians and more serious Christians who sought his advice, among them Count Marcellinus to whom he dedicated the book. At a different level, the *City of God* is his conversation with Greek and especially Roman poets, historians, and philosophers, and it has, in turn, generated further conversations in which Augustine's readers have taken up selected points, whether in agreement or disagreement, comprehension, miscomprehension, or modification. Here, attending to empathy, we will listen in on a segment of these conversations in pursuit of two assertions Augustine made in the *City of God*. Both assertions tested the limits of empathy, whether divine or human. The first — developed at some length in Book XXI — is that Scripture declares definitively and inescapably that Gehenna is a place of eternal punishment and that some (however many) human beings are headed for it, even though we cannot know who they are.<sup>1</sup>

\* Sabine MacCormack died unexpectedly on 16 June 2012 and her essay remains as she most recently approved it. Professor MacCormack prefaced this essay with the following note: Many thanks to Karl Morrison for suggesting the title of this paper, and for then watching over its production with all his customary insight and benevolence. Thank you, Karl, for this lovely learning experience!

<sup>1</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb (hereafter *City of God*), XXI. 9, discussing Christ's words (Mark 9. 42–48): 'Bonum est tibi [...] debilem introire in vitam quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, in ignem inextinguibilem' (here as elsewhere, Augustine did not cite the Vulgate text). I have also consulted Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Bettenson, which contains numerous felicitous phrasings.

The second assertion of the entire work, formulated concisely in the concluding chapter of Book XXII, explains that evils are experienced in two ways. They can be studied abstractly, as disease is studied by a physician, or else they are experienced personally; these modes of experience are symmetrically matched by modes of forgetting, the first, as when a scholar forgets what he has learned, and the second, as when a sufferer escapes from his misery. The blessed in heaven will have forgotten their pains and sorrows in this second way,

for they will be set free of all evils, because evils will have been erased from their feelings. But their power of knowledge will be such that they will be aware both of their own past misery and of the eternal misery of the damned. Or else, if they were to be ignorant of having been wretched, how will they, in the words of the Psalm, 'sing the mercies of the Lord for ever'?<sup>2</sup>

Among those who were ill at ease with these two propositions was the humanist and friend of Erasmus (1492–1536), Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), whose edition of the *City of God*, accompanied by his extensive commentary, was first published in 1522.<sup>3</sup> His discomfort notwithstanding, Vives admired Augustine greatly. In the concluding chapter of the *City of God*, Augustine looked back on the years of labour he had expended on the book: 'I think that with the help of God I have discharged the obligation of completing this vast undertaking', he

<sup>2</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXII. 30, free translation. In *De Trinitate*, XIV. 2. 4, Augustine considered the knowledge of those who see God face to face in the kingdom of heaven from another vantage point but with the same result: 'Tunc ergo etsi vitae huius mortalis transactae meminerimus, et credidisse nos aliquando quae non videbamus, memoriter recoluerimus, in praeteritis atque transactis deputabitur fides ista, non in praesentibus rebus semperque manentibus; ac per hoc etiam trinitas ista quae nunc in eiusdem fidei praesentis ac manentis memoria, contuitu, dilectione consistit, tunc transacta et praeterita reperietur esse, non permanens. ex quo colligitur ut si iam imago Dei est ista trinitas, etiam ipsa non in eis quae semper sunt, sed in rebus sit habenda transeuntibus.' See also notes 83 and 86 below.

<sup>3</sup> I consult the edition by Hieronymus Froben, vol. v of Froben's edition of Augustine's collected works, which also contains Vives's commentary: Augustine, *De civitate Dei*. This is a posthumous edition: Vives died in 1540. The work is being published in a modern edition, Vives, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Mestre, Pérez Dura, and Estellés González, as follows: II (1992), *De civitate Dei*, Books I–V; III (1993), *De civitate Dei*, Books VI–XIII; IV (2001), *De civitate Dei*, Books XIV–XVII, these being all that have been published so far. This edition presents the text of Dombart and Kalb, noting where the text produced by Vives differs. The commentary presented is that of 1522, noting variant readings that appear in the edition of 1542. Vives came from a *converso* family that suffered greatly at the hands of the Inquisition. See *Procesos inquisitoriales*, transcr. by de la Pinto Llorente and de Palacio y de Palacio. No further volumes appear to have been published. See García Cárcel, 'La familia de Luis Vives y la Inquisición'.

wrote. In his turn, Vives, looking back on his own work of editing and commenting, echoed the sentiment, but in reverse:

Likewise, I think that I myself have discharged the obligation of completing an undertaking no less onerous, a labour no less manifold than that of Augustine. For just as his pages give testimony of the amazing power of his genius, learning and sanctity, even so these my slight and slender commentaries testify to my own all too tenuous learning and experience.<sup>4</sup>

Vives was one of the earliest readers of Augustine to address the *City of God* in scholarly and not, or not primarily, in theological terms, his aim being to explain the text, not to fight with its author or with Augustine's other exegetes about points of detail.<sup>5</sup> Vives thus shed much light on Augustine's working methods and on the content and reach of his arguments. At the same time, however, the reticences and omissions of Vives provide some insight into his discomfort with Augustine's views about hell and its inmates and about whatever knowledge the blessed might have of eternal punishment. For apart from reading as a scholar, Vives also read Augustine as a Catholic Christian who was coming to grips with Augustine, the Church Father and theologian whom sixteenth-century printers honoured with the appellation 'the divine', *Divus Augustinus*.<sup>6</sup> This twofold focus

<sup>4</sup> Vives, commenting on *The City of God*, XXII. 30 (b): "Videor mihi debitum ingentis huius operis." Et ipse pariter non mihi minus ingens absolvisse opus, & varium laborem exiisse videor quam sibi Augustinus. Quantum enim illius ingenii, eruditionis, sanctitatis viribus admirandum istorum voluminum erat onus, tantum imbecillitati & imperitiae nostrae, horum tenuium leviumq[ue] commentariorum. Si quod dixi, quod placeat, habeat lector gratiam deo propter me: si quod non placeat, ignoscat mihi propter deum, & maledictis det veniam propter benedicta. Errores verosi benigne emendarit, ac sustulerit, demerebitur & me & lectores, qui confisi forsitan mihi fallerentur.'

<sup>5</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 4 (e): "Carni pavonis mortui ne putresceret." Multorum ex iis quae Augustinus hic ponit, nullo humano ingenio reddi posse ratio videtur, quorundam potest, coniecturis tantum saepe infirmis atque imbecillibus quaesita, quam tamen nos non adscribemus, ne non tam explicare Augustinum, quam cum eo pugnare videamur.' See also Vives on *City of God*, XI. 18 (b), where Augustine discusses the rhetorically satisfying use of antithesis by the apostle Paul. Vives indicates that here a quarrel could be picked with (or by) the schoolmen, but refrains from going into the details: 'Augustinus aliquid ex arte rhetorica esse in Paulo ait. Tolerabile est, quia Augustinus dicit. Si quis nostrum diceret, non flagitium tantum, sed haeresim clamarent, tam sunt illis haereses ad manum. Nihil citius iaculantur, neque facilius, nempe illarum referti.' For Vives's work on Augustine, see IJsewijn, 'Vives and Humanistic Philology', pp. 94–101).

<sup>6</sup> For example, Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*; Augustine, *Contra pelagianos et celestianos*, and from the same press, Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*. See also (other than the edition cited in note 3 above) Augustine, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*. Augustine, *Meditationes, Soliloquia, et Manuale*.

made Vives into a more searching reader of Augustine than a good many early modern contemporaries who were resolved to find in Augustine confirmation for their own theological positions.

Before turning to my topic, I add some comments on terminology. Formulating our reflections about hell, punishment, and salvation in contemporary terms, we can think of God's empathy or lack thereof for human frailty, although Augustine himself did not use such terminology, but instead juxtaposed divine justice and mercy, *misericordia*: 'Just as his anger is just, and his mercy is great, so his judgments are inscrutable.'<sup>7</sup> Likewise, regarding empathy as experienced by human beings, Augustine used the term *misericordia* along with its synonym 'compassion', *compassio*, distinguishing both from the imperturbability that was valued by some Stoic philosophers.<sup>8</sup> 'What is mercy other than a certain compassion in our hearts for the wretchedness of another, by which we are compelled to assist him in any way we are able?' Vives adopted and adapted Augustinian vocabulary, but empathy — *empathia* — is not a word he used. He and his contemporaries were aware of this Greek word, but attributed to it a meaning that was distinct both from Augustine's *misericordia* and from our contemporary understanding of empathy. The Greek–Latin lexicon published in Lyon in 1550 on the basis of the lexicographical work of the French humanist Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) and others offers under the lemma *empathia* 'commotio, affectus'; and for the Greek adjective *empathes*, the *Lexicon* has 'affectus, aegrotus, affectu percitus, vel commotus'. In short, in accord with Greek medical writers, this *Lexicon*, published not long after Vives died, treats empathy as a bodily as much as a mental condition, whereas our contemporary understanding locates it among the feelings of mind and soul, closer to Augustine's *misericordia* and *compassio*.<sup>9</sup> In this paper, therefore, I stay with the vocabulary used in the texts I write about. Before turning to Augustine as understood by Vives, however, let us consider Augustine's arguments about hell and eternal punishment in light first of his experience as a bishop, and then in light of his reading of Roman and Christian writers and of Scripture itself.

<sup>7</sup> Augustine, *De dono perseverantiae*, ed. by Migne, VIII. 18 (col. 1003): 'sicut iusta est ira eius, sicut magna est misericordia eius, ita inscrutabilia iudicia eius'. See Mayer, *Augustinus-Lexikon*, III, fasc. 5/6, s.v. 'Iustitia', cols 877–78.

<sup>8</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, ix. 4–5; MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry*, pp. 122–24.

<sup>9</sup> *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, col. 495. See also, for *eupatheia*, col. 619: 'deliciae, lautitia, iucunditas, ubertas, bona corporis dispositio, id est complexio'. Here also, the *Lexicon* takes a medical approach to the term, whereas Augustine thought about the emotions and the condition of the soul; see Augustine, *City of God*, xiv. 8: 'Quas enim Graeci appellant eupatheias, Latine autem Cicero constantias nominavit', where Augustine perhaps had in mind Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iv. 6. 14. See further, Harris, 'History, Empathy and Emptions'.

Confronting Manichees, pagans, and the Donatist majority of Hippo and North Africa at large, Augustine distinguished punishment plain and simple from correction, from the learning experience that punishment could provide. His own life, as he looked back on it in the *Confessions*, was an object lesson on the beneficial effects of God's correction, however painful he might have felt this correction to be at the time. Aged sixteen and enjoying himself, Augustine nonetheless did not escape 'your scourge'. 'For you were always present, merciful and angry, scattering bitter vexation over all my illicit delights [...] so that I might not find anything other than you, Lord, who teach[es] us by inflicting pain. Strike so as to heal us, and kill us lest we die apart from you.'<sup>10</sup> Later, it was God's 'goad' that led Augustine to see that divine justice always 'displeases the wicked' but the less so the more they relinquish the 'perversity of their will'.<sup>11</sup>

These lessons found practical application when Augustine became Bishop of Hippo, charged with guiding his 'fellow citizens and fellow sojourners' on earth.<sup>12</sup> Regarding the pagans among them, he came to think that, without constraint, they would not learn. The process of learning among pagans was promoted, in theory at least, by means of the coercive measures and penalties that were imposed by imperial authorities, and also by means of the punishment mingled with mercy that — as Augustine saw it — God had brought upon the city of Rome during its

<sup>10</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, II. 2. 4: 'excessi omnia legitima tua nec evasi flagella tua. quis enim hoc mortaliū? nam tu semper aderas, misericorditer saeviens et amarissimis aspergens offensionibus omnes inlicitas iucunditates meas, ut ita quaererem sine offensione iucundari, et ubi hoc possem, non invenirem quicquam prater te, domine, praeter te, qui fingis dolorem in praecepto et percusis ut sanes et occidis nos ne moriamur abs te.'

<sup>11</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, VII. 8. 12: 'miseratus es terram et cinerem. et placuit in conspectu tuo reformare deformia mea, et stimulis internis agitabas me ut impatiens essem donec mihi per interiorē aspectum certus esses. et residebat tumor meus ex occulta manu medicinae tuae aciesque conturbata et contenebrata mentis meae acri collyrio salubrium dolorum de die in diem sanabatur'. *Confessions*, VII. 16. 22: 'iustitia tua displicet iniquis, nedum vipera et vermiculus, quae bona creasti, apta inferioribus creaturae partibus, quibus et ipsi iniqui apti sunt, quanto dissimiliores sunt tibi, apti autem superioribus, quanto similiores fiunt tibi. et quaesivi quid esset iniquitas et non inveni substantiam, sed a summa substantia, te deo, detortae in infima voluntatis perversitatem, proicientis intima sua et tumescentis foras'. See also Augustine, Letter 28\*. 2, in Augustine, *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, ed. by Divjak, written between 415 and 417: Augustine urges that the *Gesta Collationis* be read in church so that the listeners 'non solum timore temporalium molestiarum, sed etiam timore ignis aeterni et dilectione veritatis in catholica pace teneantur'. The idea that fear and love of truth can be complementary is continuous with themes of the *Confessions*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Augustine, *Confessions*, x. 4. 6: 'credentium filiorum hominum, sociorum gaudii mei et consortium mortalitatis meae, civium meorum et mecum peregrinorum, praecedentium et consequentium et comitum vitae meae'.

siege and capture by the Visigoths in 410.<sup>13</sup> By this time, furthermore, Augustine had arrived at the conclusion that the corrective punishment by imperial authorities of Manichees and Donatists was appropriate as a deterrent and that it could be a stimulus for conversion.<sup>14</sup>

That such measures were coercive did not, in Augustine's view, compromise their legitimacy or potential benefits. After all, as he wrote to a Donatist priest, men unwilling to become bishops of the Catholic Church could be placed in custody until, in light of the Pauline dictum that being a bishop was 'a good work', they changed their minds. Free will notwithstanding, power was thus correctly used 'to hold a person back from evil or to bring him to the good under duress'.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, Augustine continued, had not Christ himself authorized duress when speaking about the host of the 'banquet of eternal salvation' who ordered his servant to search for guests on the roads and 'in the hedgerows and to compel them to come in'?<sup>16</sup> Some years later, explaining relations between Catholics and Donatists to Boniface, who had recently arrived in Africa as military tribune, Augustine returned to this parable as precedent for the use of duress and for the 'medicinal vexation' that imperial legislation inflicted on Donatists so as to bring them with brotherly love into the unity of the Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, I, 34.

<sup>14</sup> Brown, 'Saint Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion', reprinted with an additional note in Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, pp. 260–78. Brown sees Augustine's thinking about coercion as a dynamic process of growth and change — not as a doctrine that can be readily fixed and defined — in response to the challenges he perceived to arise from pagans (Manichees, Donatists, and Pelagians). To this I would add Augustine's understanding of the correction and duress that God had brought to bear on himself in his own life; cf. at notes 10 and 11 above. See also Lamirande, *Church, State, and Toleration*. In his Letter 185, 25–26 to Boniface (written c. 417), Augustine explained why he concluded that coercion was useful and effective (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, IV, 23–25).

<sup>15</sup> Augustine, Letter 173, 2 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, III, 640–41), written in 411/14 to the Donatist Bishop Donatus, who had suffered injury while resisting arrest for his creed: 'an quis nesciat nec damnari hominem nisi merito malae voluntatis nec liberari, nisi bonam habuerit voluntatem, non tamen ideo, qui diliguntur, male suae voluntati impune et crudeliter permittendi sunt, sed, ubi potestas datur, et a malo prohibendi et ad bonum cogendi'.

<sup>16</sup> Augustine, Letter 173, 10, quoting Luke 14, 21–23 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, III, 647–48).

<sup>17</sup> Augustine, Letter 185, 24 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, IV, 22–23), on the parable of the banquet; 26: *medicinalis molestia*.

In writing of punishment, Augustine sometimes echoed the language of the law of his day,<sup>18</sup> and on occasion, his formulations resemble those found in imperial legislation dealing with religious matters<sup>19</sup> — not surprisingly, because ever since the time of Emperor Constantine I, African bishops, both Donatist and Catholic, had been seeking imperial support for their competing churches, with the Catholic side gradually gaining the upper hand.<sup>20</sup> However, imperial preoccupations and aims were not the same as ecclesiastical ones, even if the phraseology used by representatives of Church and empire at times overlapped. Where Augustine's hope was to include as many as possible in the Church, the jurists drafting imperial legislation on religious matters often wrote of separation and exclusion. For example, in 357, Emperor Constantius, having already imposed the death penalty on *haruspices* (soothsayers in the Etruscan tradition), astrologers, and diviners, addressed the people at large about necromancers: 'since they are strangers to nature, let a raging pestilence carry them away'.<sup>21</sup> An edict addressed to the people of Constantinople in 380 mandated that 'all peoples who are ruled by the administration of Our Clemency shall practice the religion which the divine Peter the Apostle transmitted to the Romans'; all the rest, adherents of 'heretical dogmas', were subject to divine vengeance and an unspecified imperial

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, the letter about the legal situation of the Bishop Felicianus (Augustine, Letter 70 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, II, 246–47), to the Donatist layman Naucelio, 397/400), co-written by Augustine and the legally trained Alypius, his lifelong friend, who assisted Augustine on other technical issues as well, e.g. Augustine, Letter 44. 3. 6 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, II, 111, 113–14), dated 396 or 397, rejecting the claim made by some Donatists that their church was in communion with churches overseas. Regarding the reasons: 'ad aures mihi hoc ipsum frater Alypius suggestit'. Unknown to Augustine, however, a Donatist community had existed in Rome; see Crespin, *Ministère et sainteté*, pp. 33–35. About Alypius's work and travels on behalf of the African Church, see Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 289, 465; Erich Feldmann, Alfred Schindler, and Otto Wermelinger in Mayer, *Augustinus-Lexikon*, I, cols 252–65. On relations with the papacy, see Merdinger, *Rome and the African Church*.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, Letter 87. 4 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, II, 400–01); Augustine writing in 405/11 to Emeritus, Donatist Bishop of Caesarea in Mauretania: 'neque enim vobis obicimus nisi schismatis crimen, quam etiam haerese[m] male perseverando fecistis'. *Theodosiani libri XVI*, ed. by Kruger and Mommsen (hereafter *Cod.Theod.*), XVI. 6. 4 (12 February 405): 'Ita contigit ut haeresis ex schismate nasceretur'. See also Frend, *The Donatist Church*, p. 264.

<sup>20</sup> Serge Lancel in Mayer, *Augustinus-Lexikon*, II, cols 615–22; but regarding 'la disparition historique du donatisme à l'époque byzantine', note Shaw, 'African Christianity'.

<sup>21</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, IX. 16. 5 (issued in December 357): 'hos quoniam naturae peregrini sunt, ferialis pestis absumat'. Clyde Pharr translates: 'A deadly curse shall annihilate such persons since they are foreign to nature', in *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. by Pharr. The earlier law is *Cod.Theod.*, IX. 16. 4.

retribution.<sup>22</sup> In 389, the property of Eunomians was to be confiscated and 'they shall have nothing in common with the rest', and similarly, Manichees were to be 'expelled from the whole world and especially from this city' of Rome, their property being confiscated so that 'they have nothing in common with the world'. A little later, Eunomians were to have 'nothing in common with others', and Manichees along with people teaching 'a perverse doctrine' were to be removed from Rome and its outskirts.<sup>23</sup> In 395, it was the turn of heretics broadly defined to be removed 'outside the walls of this city' of Rome;<sup>24</sup> and in 407, various penalties imposed on Priscillianists and Manichees, along with Donatists, were explained with these words: 'This class of men shall have no customs and no laws in common with the rest of mankind' because their offence was 'a public crime, since what is done against divine religion amounts to an injury inflicted on all'.<sup>25</sup>

In the following year, Donatists were subjected to confiscation of their property, but with the slightly different rationale that their creed was a contagion and pollution threatening to infect others: 'beware that this pestilence does not spread

<sup>22</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 1. 2, trans. in *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. by Pharr. The edict is discussed by Barnard, 'The Criminalisation of Heresy in the Later Roman Empire'.

<sup>23</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 17 (4 May 389), Eunomians; xvi. 5. 18 (17 June 389), Manichees; xvi. 5. 19 (26 November 389), 'Ii, qui scaevi dogmatis retinent principatum'.

<sup>24</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 29 (24 November 395); *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 31 (21/22 April 396): Eunomians are people, 'quorum furor tantum suasit errorem e civitatibus pellantur extorres', reiterated with different wording in *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 32 (21/22 April 396).

<sup>25</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 40 (22 February 407): 'huic itaque generi hominum nihil ex moribus, nihil ex legibus sit commune cum ceteris. ac primum quidem volumus esse publicum crimen, quia, quod in religionem divinam committitur, in omnium fertur iniuriam'. Examples of legislation seeking quite explicitly to separate those not conforming to accepted doctrine from the rest of society can be multiplied, e.g. *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 6 (10 January 381 = *Codex Justinianus*, 1. 1. 22), forbidding heretics to meet and summarizing the Creed of Nicaea as reiterated in the Council of Constantinople: those who will not conform 'ab ipsis etiam urbium moenibus exterminato furore propelli iubeamus'. *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 14 (10 March 388): 'Apollinarios ceterosque diversarum haeresum sectatores ab omnibus locis iubemus inhiberi, a moenibus urbium, a congressu honestorum, a communione sanctorum.' See Gaudemet, 'Politique ecclésiastique et législation religieuse', and Gaudemet, *Droit de l'Église et vie sociale*. *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 40 opens with the words 'Quid de Donatistis sentiremus, nuper ostendimus', referring to *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 6. 3–5; xvi. 5. 38 (all of 12 February 405, the 'Edict of Unity') and *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 39 (8 December 405); see also *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 11. 2 (5 March 405): 'Edictum quod de unitate per Africanas regiones clementia nostra direxit, per diversa proponi volumus, ut omnibus innotescat dei omnipotentis unam et veram fidem catholicam, quam recta credulitas confitetur, esse retinendum.' Frend, *The Donatist Church*, pp. 261–62.

abroad and progress further'.<sup>26</sup> General proscription followed in 410, and a law addressed to Count Marcellinus, recently arrived in North Africa from Italy, reaffirmed all prior legislation.<sup>27</sup> Some years later,<sup>28</sup> Donatist clerics were to be exiled 'from African soil', which they were accused of having 'polluted with their sacrilegious ritual'.<sup>29</sup> In 414, this legislation culminated in detailed punitive decrees prefaced by the rationale that Donatists should understand that they 'have no power of entering into contracts of any kind, but they shall be branded with perpetual infamy and separated from honourable gatherings and from public assemblies'.<sup>30</sup> These sentiments resonate less with the project of the Catholic African bishops as formulated by Augustine to bring all into the unity of the Church than they do with Cicero's (106–43 BCE) arguments for expelling Catiline from Rome so as to save the lives of Roman citizens — and the Catilinarian orations were well known to the rhetorically trained jurists of Late Antiquity.<sup>31</sup>

In other respects, however, imperial legislation converged with the episcopal project, for frequently threats of penalties ran parallel with annulling those same penalties for those who converted. A lengthy constitution to this effect, issued in February 407, echoed earlier legislation and explained its rationale:

Even though it is customary that punishment should expiate crime, we nonetheless desire to correct the depraved wills of human beings by exhorting them to penitence. Therefore, regarding anyone among the heretics, be they Donatists or Manichees or those who have joined themselves by unholy observance to whatever other perverse opinion and sect, if by a simple confession they receive the Catholic

<sup>26</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, XVI. 5. 44 (24 November 408): 'quae pestis cave contagione latius emanat ac profluat'.

<sup>27</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, XVI. 5. 51 (25 August 410); *Cod.Theod.*, XVI. 11. 3 (14 October 410), to Marcellinus. Moreau, *Le Dossier Marcellinus dans la correspondance de saint Augustin*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>28</sup> That is, after the Conference of Carthage in 411, in which the Donatists were forced into submission, but with questionable success; note Shaw, 'African Christianity'.

<sup>29</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, XVI. 5. 52, section 5 (30 January 412): 'ablatis de Africano solo quod ritu sacrilego polluerunt'.

<sup>30</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, XVI. 5. 54 (17 June 414), trans. by Pharr: 'Donatistas adque haereticos, quos patientia clementiae nostrae nunc usque servavit, competenti constituimus auctoritate percelli, quatenus evidenti praeceptione se agnoscant et intestabiles et nullam potestatem alicuius ineundi habere contractus, sed perpetua inustos infamia a coetibus honestis et a conventu publico segregandos.'

<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I. 10: 'Catilina, perge quo coepisti: egredere aliquando ex urbe'; I. 33: 'hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium'. MacMullen, 'Roman Bureaucratism'; Voss, 'Juristen und Rhetoren als Schöpfer der Novellen Theodosius' II'.

faith and observance which we desire to be followed by all human beings, even though they have nourished an age-old evil by their enduring daily habit, thanks to which they would seem to be subject to laws previously issued, yet, we decree that they be absolved from all guilt as soon as they acknowledge God in a simple act of reverence. Therefore, for every charge that has been brought previously or — which heaven forbid — will be brought in future, even though punishment of the guilty may appear to be most pressing, it shall suffice for annulment if the accused renounce their error by their own judgement and embrace the name of almighty God that they called upon in their peril, because the succour of religion when called upon amidst afflictions shall never fail.<sup>32</sup>

While imposing penalties and withdrawing them in one and the same legislative act may seem contradictory and self-defeating, it emerges as less so when considered alongside Augustine's efforts at achieving conversions. He repeatedly pleaded with imperial officials to refrain from proceeding in accord with the full severity of the law. Most particularly, he opposed judicial torture and the death penalty, as, for example, when he wrote to the proconsul Donatus:

We love our enemies and pray for them. Hence we desire that by the intervention of judges and laws that inspire fear they be reformed, not killed, lest they incur the punishments of eternal judgement. Nor do we desire that you omit their correction, or omit imposing the appropriate penalties. But curb their sins in such a way that they repent having sinned.<sup>33</sup>

'With the help of God', Augustine wrote to the proconsul Caecilianus, 'you will make provision that the tumour of sacrilegious folly is healed by inspiring fear, rather than being avenged by surgical removal.'<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in 411, he wrote to Count Marcellinus and his brother, the proconsul Apringius: 'Soften the harshness of your judgements and do not forget to set an example of your faith and of the gentleness that belongs to your mother herself, because you are sons of the Church.'<sup>35</sup> And once more, in 414, addressing the queries of Macedonius,

<sup>32</sup> *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 41 (15 November 407); see also *Cod.Theod.*, xvi. 5. 40 (22 February 407), sections 5–6; xvi. 6. 3 (12 February 405) with xvi. 6. 4 (12 February 405).

<sup>33</sup> Augustine, Letter 100. 1, written in late 408 to Donatus, proconsul of Africa. See Augustine, *Political Writings*, ed. by Atkins and Dodaro. On Augustine's arguments for clemency, see Kaufman, 'Augustine, Macedonius, and the Courts'.

<sup>34</sup> Augustine, Letter 86, written in 406/09; trans. after Augustine, *Political Writings*, ed. by Atkins and Dodaro, p. 134: 'adiuvante domino deo nostro procul dubio providebis, ut tumor sacrilegae vanitatis terrendo sanetur potius, quam ulciscendo resecetur'.

<sup>35</sup> Augustine, Letter 133. 3; trans. after Augustine, *Political Writings*, ed. by Atkins and Dodaro, p. 63.

vicar of Africa, in a long and carefully reasoned letter, Augustine pressed the same point: 'God spares unjust and wicked persons, granting life and health even to the majority among them of whom he knows that they will not repent: how much more ought we to spare those who have promised to amend, although we do not know whether they will act on their promise.'<sup>36</sup> All this was aimed at avoiding precisely the outcome of separating offenders from the rest of society that the imperial legislator so often sought to achieve.

Similar arguments, now formulated in philosophical terms, pervade the *City of God*. Coexistence was the quintessential attribute of life in society. Holiness was pursued and attained by interacting with one's neighbour and not otherwise. 'We assent most heartily when the philosophers want the life of the wise to be a social life. For whence could that City of God, about which we now have the nineteenth book in hand, have arisen in the beginning, how could it proceed on its course or reach its proper end, if the life of the saints were not a social life?' But social life had its burdens, as Augustine went on to say, quoting from the Roman dramatist Terence (c. 190–159 BCE) the verse, 'I married a wife, and what misery ensued! Children were born: another source of trouble.'<sup>37</sup> Beyond the troubles that Terence had in mind, Augustine lived not only with ecclesiastical disunion and its often violent results, but also with the smaller and equally pressing concerns of his congregation, of which he spoke in his sermons: family quarrels, debt and litigation, sickness and death.<sup>38</sup> When the City of God reached its proper end, would not its social life be free of such sorrows? Augustine laid the groundwork for an affirmative answer to this question in his account of Creation, the Fall, and the nature of the soul's indwelling in the body, for this account came to its conclusion with the ultimate separation of the saved and the damned.

From Scripture, Augustine derived the understanding that human souls are created by God and are not co-eternal or consubstantial with him, and that, furthermore, each unique soul is incarnate in its own unique body, with which it will be reunited once and for all at the end of time. He explained this teaching in the context of the Platonist alternative of the transmigration of souls into different bodies that he found in Publius Vergilius Maro (hereinafter Vergil; 70–19

<sup>36</sup> Augustine, Letter 153. 6; trans. after Augustine, *Political Writings*, ed. by Atkins and Dodaro, pp. 71–88.

<sup>37</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XIX. 5.

<sup>38</sup> A good example: Augustine, Sermon 302. 11. 10–23, 21 (Augustine, *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 1389–93). On the burdens that judicial duties imposed on bishops, with examples from Augustine's experience, see Lamoureaux, 'Episcopal Courts in Late Antiquity'; see also Uhalde, *Expectations of Justice*.

BCE), the 'renowned poet' of the Romans, as Augustine described him, and in the early Christian commentator on Scripture, Origen (c. 185–c. 254). Vergil's Aeneas saw in the land of the blessed a vision of the journeying of souls across the universe. Departing from earthly life, they leave behind their sorrows by drinking the waters of forgetfulness. Through purification in winds, water, and fire, they ascend into the Elysian Fields. From there, after long ages yearning for the body, their ardent desire brings them back down to earthly life. They forget their previous existences in heaven and on earth, and eventually, they die again, ascend once more, and again return into a body and to earth, in repeated cycles, perennially. Yearning for the body and the body itself entails living under the constraint of the passions, of fear and desire, pain and rejoicing — in short, of the joys and sorrows of terrestrial life.<sup>39</sup> Augustine rejected this view of the relation of soul and body because, in his view, blessedness, like divine perfection itself, was incompatible with impermanence. Souls could be blessed in Elysium only insofar as they believed that they would abide there forever. Vergil's picture of their bliss was therefore founded in error.<sup>40</sup> Besides,

if the perfect purification of souls results in their forgetting all evils, and forgetting evils leads to yearning for bodies, where the souls are once more implicated in evils, then supreme blessedness would be the cause of misery, perfection of wisdom would be the cause of folly, and perfect purity would be the cause of uncleanness.<sup>41</sup>

The cyclical peregrinations of human souls from Elysium to earth and back, 'returning ceaselessly to false beatitude and to true misery',<sup>42</sup> that Vergil's Aeneas saw in the other world were replicated on a cosmic scale in the Stoic theory of periodic disintegration and renewal of the world that Augustine refuted in the *City of God*, Book XII,<sup>43</sup> in the course of his account of angelic and human

<sup>39</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 713–51. Augustine discussed this passage, quoting lines from it in *City of God*, x. 30, xiv. 5, xxi. 3, and xx. 26. See MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry*, pp. 107–31; Müller, *Formen und Funktionen der Vergilzitate bei Augustin von Hippo*, pp. 280–87, 366–71.

<sup>40</sup> Note Augustine, *City of God*, xi. 11, about the angels: 'quamvis non, quidquid aeternum, continuo beatum sit — dicitur enim etiam poenalis ignis aeternus — tamen si vere perfecteque beata vita non nisi aeterna est, non erat talis istorum, quandoque desitura et propterea non aeterna, sive id scirent, sive nescientes aliud putarent; quia scientes timor, nescientes error beatos esse utique non sinebat'.

<sup>41</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, x. 30.

<sup>42</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, xii. 14: 'immortalem animam [...] euntem sine cessatione ad falsam beatitudinem et ad veram miseriam sine cessatione redeuntem'.

<sup>43</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, xii. 12–15; xii. 15: 'quid autem mirum est si in his circuitibus errantes nec aditum nec exitum inveniunt? quia genus humanum atque ista nostra mortalitas

nature and will, his purpose being to differentiate the uniqueness of Creation as described in Genesis from 'cycles of time'.<sup>44</sup> Among the proponents of 'cycles of time' was Origen, who in support of this view cited, inter alia, the words of Ecclesiastes: 'What is it that has been? The same that will be. What is it that has been done? The same that will be done, and nothing is new under the sun.'<sup>45</sup> As understood by Augustine, Origen thought these words pointed to God's creation of successive worlds in each of which fallen angelic souls were assigned to inhabit the sun and stars in accord with their sin and their rank in the hierarchy of angels until, at the end of time, all sin having been purged in sequences of lives, there would be no hell, no place of eternal pain.<sup>46</sup> Augustine, however, read the words of Ecclesiastes as describing not different worlds but successive generations of living things here on this earth, 'some going, others coming, and about the course of the sun and the flowing of waters. Or else the words are about all procreation of living things that arise and pass away'.<sup>47</sup>

Origen's view of Creation and sin met with three fundamental objections from Augustine. In the first place, he thought the notion of the reincarnation of

nec quo initio coepta sit sciunt, nec quo fine claudatur; quando quidem altitudinem Dei penetrare non possunt.' In his translation of the *City of God*, (Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*), Bettenson cites Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II. 20. 51 (discourse of the Stoic Balbus). Here, Balbus, discussing the paths of the planets, argues the exact opposite to the point Augustine makes. Possibly, in this case, Augustine was thinking of the Stoic universe, not just of Origen's. See Baguette, 'Une période stoïcienne dans l'évolution de la pensée de saint Augustin'; also see Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, II. 1023–25.

<sup>44</sup> The purpose of *City of God*, Book XII, is explained in this book's opening chapter, the principal point of argument being that evil is a product of the will, not of the nature that God created. For *circuitus temporum* and *falsi circuitus*, see *City of God*, 12. 14.

<sup>45</sup> On Augustine's knowledge of Origen, see Altaner, 'Augustinus und Origenes', especially at p. 231; also see O'Daly, *Augustine's 'City of God'*, pp. 142–50. Ecclesiastes 1. 9–10: 'quid est quod factum est? ipsum quod futurum est. Et quid est quod creatum est? hoc ipsum quod creandum est; et nihil est omnino recens sub sole', is quoted in *De Principibus*, 3. 5. 3 in order to prove that God created other worlds before the present one and that he will create another world after the present one. See the commentary by Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti in Origen, *Traité des Principes*, ed. by Crouzel and Simonetti, pp. 104–12.

<sup>46</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XII. 14, citing Ecclesiastes 1. 9–10 but in a different Latin wording from the one used by Rufinus in his translation of *De principiis*. Augustine quotes the passage as: 'Quid est quod fuit? Ipsum quod erit. Et quid est quod factum est? Ipsum quod fiet; et non est omne recens sub sole. Qui loquetur et dicet: Ecce hoc novum est: iam fuit saeculis quae fuerunt ante nos.'

<sup>47</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XII. 14: 'quod ille aut de his rebus dixit, de quibus superius loquebatur, hoc est de generationibus aliis euntibus, aliis venientibus, de solis anfractibus, de torrentium lapsibus; aut certe de omnium rerum generibus, quae oriuntur atque occidunt'.

souls in accord with offences committed in a prior life contradicted the words of Genesis that conclude each of the days of Creation with the refrain, 'and God saw that it was good'; the account of the sixth day ending with the words, 'and God saw all that he had made, and behold it was very good'. By contrast, the purpose of Origen's world, as viewed by Augustine, was 'not to fashion good but to restrain evil. For this reason, Origen is rightly censured'.<sup>48</sup> In the second place, Augustine could make no sense of the idea that the sun, moon, and planets served as the material vehicles, the bodies for souls of fallen angels. Reducing the theory to an absurd conclusion, he asked, 'If the same sin, or its equivalent, had been committed not by one soul, but by two, or even by ten or a hundred souls, would the universe have as many as a hundred suns?'<sup>49</sup> And third, Augustine accused Origen of misplaced compassion. In Augustine's understanding of Origen's position, sinful human beings, fallen angels, and even the devil himself would at last be saved. This process of salvation entailed those endlessly alternating states of beatitude and misery and those interminable goings and comings from that state to the other and the other to the first at regular intervals of epochs that were 'rightly condemned by the Church'.<sup>50</sup> It was the criticism Augustine had already addressed to Vergil. But Origen was a Christian: 'his error is all the more odious, contradicting the truthful word of God the more culpably, because he believes he is acting with greater kindness'.<sup>51</sup> And what was the word of God? 'So these will go to eternal punishment, and the just to eternal life', a theme reiterated many times in the Gospels.<sup>52</sup>

At issue was the nature and scope of repentance in avoiding eternal punishment. Augustine's criticism of Origen for misplaced compassion came from the same convictions as his appeal for imperial severity against the (Christian)

<sup>48</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XI. 23: 'hunc esse mundum eamque causam fuisse mundi faciendi, non ut conderentur bona, sed ut mala cohiberentur. Hinc Origenes iure culpatur'.

<sup>49</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XI. 23; trans. in Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Bettenson.

<sup>50</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 17: 'sed illum [Origen] et propter hoc et propter alia nonnulla et maxime propter alternantes sine cessatione beatitudines et miseras et statutis saeculorum intervallis ab istis ad illas atque ab illis ad istas itus ac reditus interminabiles non inmerito reprobavit ecclesia'.

<sup>51</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 17: 'et tamen tanto invenitur errare deformius et contra recta Dei verba perversius, quanto sibi videtur sentire clementius'.

<sup>52</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 1, quoting Matthew 25. 46; see also Matthew 13. 41–45; John 5. 29, quoted in this chapter. Hans Urs von Balthasar returns to Origen's theme in *Dare We Hope 'That All Men Be Saved'?*. Likewise, in a comparative framework (but without mentioning Origen), Coomaraswamy, 'Who Is "Satan" and Where Is "Hell"?'.

Donatists out of 'brotherly love'. Augustine pleaded with imperial officials prosecuting Donatists to set aside torture and capital punishment to allow time for repentance, but after death it was too late. The pains of hell, therefore, were not imposed for correction or deterrence, but as punishment pure and simple. Such punishment entailed another component that Augustine considered misplaced in the here and now: the separation of the offender, even though separation — however impractical — was at times mandated by imperial law. Imperial legislation in all its contradictoriness, its frequent divergence from Christian 'gentleness',<sup>53</sup> was an expression of the *civitas terrena*. The principles and procedures of the terrestrial city, while inescapable in the here and now, were alien to the *civitas Dei*, and the wise man administering the terrestrial city's law did well to cry out to God, as the psalmist had done, 'Deliver me from my necessities!'<sup>54</sup>

And yet Augustine the reader of Scripture spelled out that, as a preliminary to the final establishment of the *civitas Dei*, those who were not to be among its citizens would be sent to hell, where they would forever be separate from the saved. In *City of God*, Book XXI, elucidating his opposition to compromises by reason of worldly mercy, he contradicted multifarious arguments to the effect that the words of Scripture about hell were to be understood as a warning, not a future reality.<sup>55</sup> Advocates of divine mercy quoted the psalm: 'Shall God forget to be gracious?'<sup>56</sup> Surely it made no sense, they said, that hell will be everlasting: rather, sinners would find themselves there for some delimited, albeit long, time span.<sup>57</sup> Besides, God, having threatened to destroy Nineveh, did not actually

<sup>53</sup> Augustine, Letter 133. 2 (Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. by Goldbacher, III, 82–83); Letter 133. 3 (ibid., pp. 83–84) to Marcellinus, advocating *humanitas* and *mansuetudo*, respectively; Letter 134. 4 (ibid., pp. 86–88) to Apringius advocating *mansuetudo*; see also Letter 139. 2 (ibid., pp. 150–52) to Marcellinus: (*lenitas*) 'mollire sententiam et mitius vindicare quam leges'; Letter 139. 3 (ibid., pp. 152–53) (*caritas*); Letter 153. 15 (ibid., pp. 412–13) to Macedonius (*misericordia*).

<sup>54</sup> 'De necessitatibus erue me', Psalm 24. 17, quoted in Augustine, *City of God*, XIX. 66; cf. *City of God*, XVIII. 18 (p. 277) about the transformation of human beings into animals: 'Sed de ista tanta ludificatione daemonum nos quid dicamus, qui haec legent, fortassis expectent. Et quid dicemus, nisi de medio Babylonis esse fugiendum?'

<sup>55</sup> But elsewhere, for the most part earlier in his life, Augustine expressed himself more hesitantly; see Lancel, *Saint Augustin*, chap. 33; Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 459–64, with n. 91, on Augustine, Letter 4\*, to Cyril of Alexandria, AD 417 (text in Augustine, *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, ed. by Divjak).

<sup>56</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 18, quoting Psalm 77. 9.

<sup>57</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 17.

destroy it.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, what of the efficacy of Catholic baptism: would it not save even those who had fallen into heresy?<sup>59</sup> And what of the Catholic faith itself: was not Christ the foundation of all who believe in him?<sup>60</sup> And would not Christ, 'the bread of life,' save those who had shared in the Eucharist?<sup>61</sup> Moreover, there were such deeds of mercy as a person may have performed,<sup>62</sup> not to mention the intercession of the saints.<sup>63</sup>

Even so, Augustine responded, Christ did say, 'Depart from me, accursed ones, into the eternal fire that has been prepared for the devil and his angels' — where 'eternal' was not to be understood to mean only 'a long time'.<sup>64</sup> As for intercession, Augustine reiterated the point he had already made when asking imperial officials prosecuting Donatists to set aside the rigour of the law and to proceed with Christian 'gentleness': the Church did indeed pray for all people, including her enemies, because they might yet repent. However, perhaps remembering the long story of his own conversion, he now added that who is to be saved is unknown, and in any case, not all prayers are answered.<sup>65</sup> Then he proceeded to give reasons invalidating each and every plea against the reality of hell.<sup>66</sup>

Separation of one part of society from the other, the very thing that Augustine sought to avoid in the present, was thus a salient characteristic of the world to come, in which, however, 'the life of the saints' was to be 'a social life'.<sup>67</sup> But the social life of the saints in heaven would not replicate the compromised social life within the Roman Empire as construed by Augustine, although it would replicate the social life envisioned in some Roman legislation. This brings us back to repentance, to what according to Augustine was achieved by it. Arguing against Origen and others, Augustine affirmed that all natures that God created are good. Sin and hence evil are outcomes of choices made by a disordered will. All

<sup>58</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 18, quoting Psalm 76. 10: 'Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas?'

<sup>59</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, xx. 20.

<sup>60</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 21, quoting I Corinthians 3. 11–15.

<sup>61</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 19.

<sup>62</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 22.

<sup>63</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 18.

<sup>64</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 23, quoting Matthew 25. 41, 46; also Revelation 20. 10–11; II Peter 2. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 24 and cf. note 54 above.

<sup>66</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 23–27.

<sup>67</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 5 and above at note 39.

this in turn generated not simply death of the body but, more important, distance between Creator and creature, 'as though God had said, the day on which you leave me by virtue of disobedience, I shall leave you by virtue of justice'.<sup>68</sup> As Augustine understood it, this was a dynamic negative process in which the first wrong choice continues to generate further such choices, as a result of which human beings, proceeding with their choices, become ever more incapable of living in the felicity for which they were created. For the vision of God, the source of that felicity, is not imposed externally, like the action of a tragedy in which, as Aristotle described, the viewer participated emotively, experiencing fear and pity so as to arrive at catharsis,<sup>69</sup> only to leave the theatre for life as usual and return another day.<sup>70</sup> Rather, the vision of God requires choice and daily practice which led to what Augustine described as 'a certain weight of will and love'.<sup>71</sup> Hell is the condition of souls whose choices, unmodified by repentance, have produced an othering of their natures so decisive that God, the source of felicity, has become invisible. Once 'eternal self-destruction'<sup>72</sup> had been chosen, death placed the one who made that choice beyond the reach of intercessory prayer.

Insofar as hell amounts to the condition of the soul emerging from its choices, one might wonder whether it is really punitive, as Augustine asserted. He removed this doubt by noting that like souls in heaven, so those in hell will be reunited with their bodies,<sup>73</sup> and in hell, those bodies will suffer everlasting torment. The assertion appears to have generated various queries among Augustine's

<sup>68</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XIII. 15: 'etiāsi ergo hanc intellegamus Deum denuntiāsse mortem in eo quod ait, Quā die edēitis ex illo, morte moriemini; tamquam diceret: quā die me deserueritis per inobedientiam, deseram vos per iustitiam'.

<sup>69</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449b24.

<sup>70</sup> For strictures by Augustine and other Christian writers on the theatre, see Weismann, *Kirche und Schauspiele*; Lugaresi, "Regio aliena"; Webb, *Demons and Dancers*, pp. 197–216 on Christian ideas about theatre and mime — but she omits discussing the important chapters in Augustine, *City of God*, II. 27; IV. 26–27; VIII. 13; see also, on the rites of Cybele which the young Augustine observed in Carthage, *City of God*, II. 6; VII. 26.

<sup>71</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XI. 16: 'Tantum valet in naturis rationalibus quoddam veluti pondus voluntatis et amoris, ut cum ordine naturae angeli hominibus, tamen lege iustitiae boni homines malis angelis praeferantur.' For *pondus voluntatis et amoris*, see Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I. 11. 11: souls descend *pondere terrenae cogitationis*. Cf. Augustine, *City of God*, XI. 28.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p. 132.

<sup>73</sup> For the bodies of the saints, see Augustine, *City of God*, XIII. 19–22; also Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, ed. by Zycha, II. 4, VI. 8. On Augustine's understanding of the Resurrection as an expression of his positive evaluation of the body, see Marrou and La Bonnadière, 'Le dogme de la résurrection des corps'.

public, as to whether such a thing was really possible, for surely, after death, bodies disintegrate and hence cannot feel pain?<sup>74</sup> To which Augustine responded that indeed, dead bodies feel no pain because the soul has left them, but that pain, even when it is of the body, is felt by the soul,<sup>75</sup> the point being that at the end of time all souls will be reunited with their bodies.

He therefore exhorted those who did not want to believe Scripture about the eternal torment of the body to consult Roman writers, especially Pliny the Elder (AD 23–79), about the workings of nature and the enduring properties of matter.<sup>76</sup> For example, in his *Natural History*, Pliny had written about the consuming flames of Mount Aetna, and yet the mountain still existed nearly four centuries later in Augustine's own day — evidence suggesting, he thought, that bodies in hell could indeed burn forever.<sup>77</sup> It was also Pliny who had discussed diverse other marvels of nature, among them the mysterious characteristics of fire. Fire transformed timber which rotted in moisture into charcoal which did not. Itself luminous, fire blackened wood and other materials, but it also produced lime which was white and emitted fiery heat when brought into contact with water.<sup>78</sup> No one questioned the veracity of Pliny, no matter how amazing the phenomena he described, but — Augustine insisted — when Scripture referred to the fires of hell, critics arbitrarily chose to disbelieve it merely because they did not like the idea of eternal punishment.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 2–3.

<sup>75</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 3.

<sup>76</sup> Cited by name in Augustine, *City of God*, xv. 9; see Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, pp. 219–22.

<sup>77</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 4 with Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, II. 234–35 about volcanos, mentioning Aetna.

<sup>78</sup> About wood in fire: *City of God*, XXI. 4 with Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVI. 201. About lime and quick lime: Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 4: 'eam vivam calcem loquimur, velut ipse ignis latens anima sit invisibilis visibilis corporis. Iam vero quam mirum est quod, cum extinguitur, tunc accenditur! Ut enim occulto igne careat, aquae infunditur aquave perfunditur, et cum ante sit frigida, inde fervescit, unde ferventia cuncta frigescent [...] si non adhibeas aquam, sed oleum, quod magis fomes est ignis, nulla eius perfusione vel infusione fervescit.' Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXIII. 94: 'contextique par est [...] ut universa naturae contingat admiratio [...] calx aqua accenditur'; also *City of God*, XXXVI. 174, about *calx* (lime): 'mirum aliquid, postquam arserit, accendi aquis'. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXIV. 3: 'oleum solum calci miscetur, quando utrumque aquas odit'.

<sup>79</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 4: 'magnetem lapidem novimus mirabilem ferri esse raptorem'. Augustine went on to describe seeing a magnet holding up a chain of iron rings. Pliny discusses the *pax*, *odia*, and *amicitia* of lifeless things (*rerum surdarum*), *Naturalis Historia*, XX. 2: 'ferrum

He thus endeavoured, as best he was able, to persuade those critics of Scripture by citing the works of 'those who have carefully studied the natural history of animals',<sup>80</sup> but in the last resort, it was not a question of the mysterious or surprising properties of fire or any other element, but of divine power and justice and the authority of Scripture, which obviated all further argument.<sup>81</sup> Although it was impossible — and indeed wrong to try — to accomplish in this life the separation of the saved and the damned that divine justice as articulated in Scripture announced for the life to come, this separation was nonetheless partially anticipated in the customs of the Church, which prayed for its enemies with whom it coexisted in the same society, but did not pray for the devil or the evil angels,<sup>82</sup> notwithstanding their ubiquity in the affairs of the world. In the next life, however, human enemies of the Church will either have been gathered in among the blessed, or else will have been joined to the damned. At that point, prayer will be inappropriate, because it would amount to asking God to will otherwise than he wills. With this we return to considering the knowledge, or rather memory, that according to Augustine, the blessed in heaven will have of the damned.

ad se trahente magnete lapide et alio rursus abigente a sese'; *Naturalis Historia*, xxxiv. 147: 'de magnete lapide suo loco dicemus concordiaque quam cum ferro habet. sola haec materia virus ab eo lapide accipit retinetque longo tempore, aliud adprehendens ferrum, ut anulorum catena spectetur interdum. quod volgus imperitum appeallat ferrum vivum'.

<sup>80</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, xxi. 4: 'qui naturas animalium curiosius indagarunt'.

<sup>81</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, xi. 1: 'Civitatem Dei dicimus, cuius ea scriptura testis est, quae non fortuitis motibus animorum, sed plane summae dispositione providentiae super omnes omnium gentium litteras omnia sibi genera ingeniorum humanorum divina excellens auctoritate subiecit.' This statement constitutes a counterpart to the preface of the entire work: 'Rex enim et conditor civitatis huius, de qua loqui instituimus, in scriptura populi sui sententiam divinae legis aperuit, qua dictum est: Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Hoc vero, quod Dei est, superbae quoque animae spiritus inflatus adfectat amatque sibi in laudibus dici: Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

<sup>82</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, xxi. 24: 'An erit forsitan quisquam, qui et hoc futurum esse praesumat adfirmans etiam sanctos angelos simul cum sanctis hominibus, qui tunc aequales erunt angelis Dei, pro damnandis et angelis et hominibus oraturos, ut misericordia non patiantur, quod veritate merentur pati? Quod nemo sanae fidei dixit, nemo dicturus est. Alioquin nulla causa est, cur non etiam nunc pro diabolo et angelis eius oret ecclesia, quam magister Deus pro inimicis suis iussit orare. Haec igitur causa, qua fit ut nunc ecclesia non oret pro malis angelis, quos suos esse novit inimicos, eadem ipsa causa est, qua fiet ut in illo tunc iudicio etiam pro hominibus aeterno igne cruciandis, quamvis perfecta sit sanctitate, non oret. Nunc enim propterea pro eis orat, quos in genere humano habet inimicos, quia tempus est paenitentiae fructuosae. Nam quid maxime pro eis orat, nisi ut det illis Deus, sicut dicit Apostolus, paenitentiam et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem?' (II Tim. 2. 25).

The damned will have life because their souls, like all other souls, were created immortal. Immortality is part of human nature, which is why, as Augustine wrote,

existence in itself is pleasant by virtue of some natural capacity. This is why even those who are wretched do not want to perish. Knowing that they are wretched, they do not want to be removed from existence, but they do want their wretchedness to be removed. This is true even of those who appear utterly wretched to themselves and who clearly are so, and of those whom wise persons account wretched because of their folly, and also of those who are beggars and poor and therefore are wretched in the judgement of those who regard themselves as happy. If someone were to offer to those wretched ones immortality in which their misery would be unending, with the understanding that, if they did not want to live forever in this same misery, they could choose to have no kind of existence, but perish utterly, they would certainly be overjoyed to choose perpetual misery in preference to complete annihilation.<sup>83</sup>

Later, Augustine returned to the same issue from another vantage point when reflecting on the impact of an evil will on the human and angelic natures that God had created. Those natures, as created, are good, and something in them will endure for always, so that 'there cannot exist a nature in which there is no good'. In itself, pain is proof of the presence of good, and this is especially the case of the feeling of being deprived of God's presence. 'Pain is proof of the good that was taken away, and of the good that remains; for if no good remained, it would not be possible to feel the good that was lost.' And thus, 'just as delight in abandoning good when sinning is evidence of an evil will, so the pain of the loss of good when a sinner is punished is evidence of a good nature'.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XI. 27. 1. On the universal desire for life, see also Vives, *De veritate fidei Christianae*, II, 21 (p. 235), discussing Athenagoras, 'appetitus aeternitatis [...] toti est homini insitus', where one might see a contradiction with Vives's opinion that for the wicked, death and termination of consciousness are a boon, *De veritate*, v. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XIX. 13: 'est natura in qua nullum malum est vel etiam in qua nullum esse malum potest; esse autem natura in qua nullum bonum sit, non potest'; 'ipse dolor testimonium est boni adepti et boni relict. Nisi enim bonum relictum esset, bonum amissum dolere non posset'; 'Sicut ergo laetitia deserti boni in peccato testis est voluntatis malae, ita dolor amissi boni in supplicio testis est naturae bonae' (trans. after Bettenson). Similarly elsewhere in the *City of God*, see, e.g., XI. 22, where Augustine argues against the Manichees, 'cum omnino natura nulla sit malum nomenque hoc non sit nisi privationis boni' (cf. *City of God*, XI. 17: 'vitium autem ita contra naturam est, ut non possit nisi nocere naturae'). The Manichees ought to believe that the nature of God is unchangeable and eternal [...] 'animam vero, quae voluntate mutari in deterius et peccato corrumpi potuit atque ita incommutabilis veritatis luce privari non Dei partem nec eius naturae, quae Dei est, sed ab illo conditam' (*City of God*, XI. 22). The privation takes the form of punishment, 'non enim quisquam de vitiis naturalibus, sed de voluntariis

I am not sure if these last statements, which occur in the course of Augustine's reflections about life on earth, can be applied to the condition of the damned in Gehenna, whose pain the blessed will remember. If they can be applied, then that memory becomes more intelligible. As we have seen, Augustine thought that the blessed 'will be aware both of their own past misery and of the eternal misery of the damned. Or else, if they were to be ignorant of having been wretched, how would they, in the words of the psalm, "sing the mercies of the Lord forever"?'<sup>85</sup>

Being aware of the misery of the damned includes being aware of the good that still endures in their natures, which is at the same time the source of their pain. This interpretation also attenuates the punitive nature of the sufferings of the damned, given that these sufferings are a process of loss internal to the soul. If, however, we consider the bodily dimension of those sufferings that are brought about by the fires of hell, then, even though, as Augustine noted, the pain of the body manifests itself in the soul, it is impossible to escape from the conclusion that hell is punishment pure and simple. This same conclusion emerges when considering the *City of God* as a whole. Throughout, Augustine was concerned to show that evil cannot disturb the providence of God or defeat his will,<sup>86</sup> of which the separation of the damned in hell by virtue of God's just decree is an inescapable expression.

Juan Luis Vives, along with so many others, did not like this conclusion even in the attenuated form I just posited, but he refrained from commenting on it in any detail.<sup>87</sup> On the one hand, he joined Augustine in rejecting Origen's 'cycles

poenam luit' (*City of God*, XII. 3.). I thank Damian Zurro for his help in finding these passages.

<sup>85</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXII. 30, free translation; see note 2 above. The topic is also addressed in *City of God*, XX. 22: 'Dominus ea loca tenebras exteriores vocat, quibus contrarius est ille ingressus, de quo dicitur servo bono: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui* (Matthew 25. 21); ne illuc mali putentur ingredi, ut sciantur, sed ad illos potius velut egredi scientia qua eos cognituri sunt boni, quia id quod extra est cognituri sunt. Qui enim erunt in poenis, quid agatur intus in gaudio Domini nescient; qui vero erunt in illo gaudio, quid agatur foris in illis tenebris exterioribus scient.'

<sup>86</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XIV. 27–28.

<sup>87</sup> This is not just a question of Vives's commentary on the concluding books of the *City of God*. Rather, his hesitancy about Augustine's ultimate outcomes finds expression much earlier. Consider his handling of *City of God*, XIV. 27–28. He did not comment at all on chap. 27, about 'sinful angels and human beings, whose perversity does not disturb divine providence'. Regarding the next chapter, XIV. 28, 'about the nature of the two cities, the terrestrial and the heavenly', Vives commented on the life of the heavenly city 'whose citizens serve each other in charity, rulers by counsel, and subjects by obedience' in terms of an idealized, Ciceronian Roman republic: 'serviunt invicem in charitate, & praepositi consulendo & subditi obtemperando'. Vives wrote: 'Quam scite duobus verbis optimam reipublicae formam multis verbis aliis

of time', those successive worlds in which in due course all souls would return to their origin so as to live in eternal felicity.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, Vives was sparing in his comments on the reality of hell. Where Augustine in the concluding fifth part of the *City of God* expounded scriptural texts to spell out the ultimate end and whereabouts of the saved and the damned, Vives preferred when possible to resort to metaphor.<sup>89</sup> Commenting on the words in the book of Revelation, 'Death and Hades gave up the dead in them', Augustine wrote that the holy men of old who had believed in the future coming of Christ were to be found 'in places far distant from the torments of the impious, but in the lower world, until the blood of Christ and his descent to those places brought them forth from there'. Vives, in turn, reflecting on those 'places far distant from the torments of the damned', described them as the bosom of Abraham where Lazarus rested, separate from the punishments of the wicked. 'Where this place' — the bosom of Abraham — 'is located, or how it is to be understood, Augustine himself in book eight of his commentary on Genesis declared that he does not know. All these things are hidden, because it does not behove us to know, nor are we worthy of knowing them.'<sup>90</sup>

Vives did, however, outline some guiding principles in light of which Scripture could be interpreted, beginning with a certain humanistic condescension — not to say contempt — for the schoolmen of his day and their theological quarrels. The schoolmen, Vives thought, debated 'divine mysteries' until they were hoarse, when such matters 'should rather be adored in silence than seized and dissected amidst disputatious clamour'.<sup>91</sup> Regarding the resurrection of the dead, for exam-

descriptam expressit, ubi magistratus non regunt, non imperant, sed velut in excelsiore positi specula inferioribus consulunt. Unde dicti sunt veteres illi consules. & subditi non obluctantur, nec detrectant consilia, sed modeste & sedulo exsequuntur.' About *dominandi libido* and its consequences, also mentioned by Augustine in this chapter, Vives is silent.

<sup>88</sup> See Vives on *City of God*, XI. 23 and XII. 3, discussing Origen's *De Principiis* and *circumitus temporum*. Modern editors read this expression as 'circuitus temporum'. See *City of God*, XII. 14 (cf. note 44 above).

<sup>89</sup> *City of God*, XIX–XXII. On the subdivisions of the *City of God*, see Augustine, Letter 1A\* to Firmus, in Augustine, *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, ed. by Divjak.

<sup>90</sup> Revelation 20. 13. Vives, on *City of God*, xx. 15 (a): 'Ubi sit, aut quomodo intelligatur, nescire se Augustinus libro super Gen[esim] octavo fatetur. Occulta sunt omnia haec, quia nec sciri attinet, nec ut sciamus digni sumus.'

<sup>91</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XI. 11 (a): 'hoc enim modo tractari mysteria illa divina debent, adorata potius silenter, quam raptata & discerpta clamoribus ad ravim contentiosis: nec existimare nihil referre, sive de humana philosophia sit sermo, sive de rebus non ad disquisitionem mortalium a deo sobrie revelatis, sed ad admirationem venerationemque.'

ple, scholastic theologians discussed Thomas, Scotus, Ockham, Durandus, and others in light of Aristotelian doctrines to discover whether bodies were to be resurrected, whether they would be resurrected at the end of the world, whether the matter which formerly adorned the human form will always seek that same form, whether the souls of the blessed can experience pain, whether the movement of the heavens will stop, and in what position it will stop, whether the elements will be transformed, whether felicity resides in acts of the will or of the intellect, whether fire can affect souls, whether the fire that is to come will be eternal, and by what fuel it will be sustained, and where hell is located.<sup>92</sup>

Although it is not difficult to recognize in these questions a good many Augustinian themes, Vives observed with some irony that the schoolmen 'discuss all this so philosophically that you would think they are pagans in Athens, not Christians in Paris.' Trumping the schools with poetry, he therefore concluded with Vergil's beautiful line: 'Blessed is he who has been able to know the causes of things.'<sup>93</sup>

Not surprisingly, Vives set to one side Augustine's discussion about the eternity of the fire in which bodies can burn forever. Where Augustine asserted, adducing evidence from Pliny, that bodies could endure in fire eternally, Vives introduced a distraction by commenting not on Augustine but on Pliny, to whose disquisitions about fire he added information about the healing hot springs at Aachen.<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere, he gently implied corrections to Augustine's interpretations of Pliny and observed that perhaps it was not prudent to discuss the marvels of nature with the unlearned<sup>95</sup> — a point well known to his friend Erasmus, whose great edition of Pliny's *Natural History* was published in 1525.<sup>96</sup> Frequently, classical and patristic erudition is preferred to theology: commenting on Augustine's severe response to people who thought it was unjust and unfair that God punished sins committed in time with punishment for all eternity, whereas human law established some kind of equivalence between crime and punishment, Vives inserted a discussion on this equivalence as found in the

<sup>92</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 7.

<sup>93</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 7.

<sup>94</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 2.

<sup>95</sup> See Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 3–4. On discussing *miracula naturae* with the unlearned, see Vives's comments on *City of God*, XXI. 5 (n): 'secreta vel naturae, vel dei irrisu et aspersione vultus prosequantur, ideo non imprudenter, qui monet miracula naturae non passim, nec omnibus narranda'.

<sup>96</sup> Pliny, *Historia mundi*. As Erasmus explained in the preface, this edition was a cooperative work.

Twelve Tables.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, where Augustine chastised the Romans for their many gods, Vives provided chronological and topographical information about the cults of these gods,<sup>98</sup> and where Augustine perused literary and historical texts for evidence about demonic illusions and the transformation by demons of human beings into animals, Vives thought that some of these tales had been written for entertainment, while attributing others to 'Greek credulity'.<sup>99</sup>

Elsewhere, resetting the limits of empathy, Vives quietly introduced themes alternative to Augustine's argument about the eternal pains of the damned. Augustine insisted on the eternal pain of both soul and body, and Vives, following Augustine, cited the words of Isaiah, 'their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched', but then veered off to Epicurus, Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and Jerome in order to explore the alternative thesis that the central issue about hell is the pain and sorrow of a troubled conscience.<sup>100</sup> Accordingly, where Augustine quoted Christ's words, 'Depart from me into the eternal fire', Vives said nothing,<sup>101</sup> and instead amplified Augustine's exhortation to live soberly by adding that the ancient philosophers had advised the same thing. Virtue was its own reward: 'Even while living here on earth, the good are happier than the wicked, however prosperous these latter might be. This is why Christ promises his followers a bounteous reward not only in the next life, but in this present one.'<sup>102</sup> Hence, where Augustine expressed sadness about the manifold tri-

<sup>97</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 11, citing Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XX. 1. 13–22 on *talio*.

<sup>98</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, III. 21 with Vives. See also *City of God*, XI. 33, about the two societies of good and wicked angels, some of the latter being kept in prisons, *carceres* (II Peter 2. 4): Vives explained the passage in biblical terms and also glossed *carceres*: (a) 'Aug[ustinus] hic carceres pro claustris posuit quibus exire prohibentur, quales erant illi in circo, quibus equi antequam currerent, coercebantur'.

<sup>99</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XVIII. 18 with Vives on this passage. Augustine mentioned the hero of Apuleius's *Golden Ass* who was transformed into a donkey. He was inclined to dismiss the story as fiction while yet allowing that God might permit demonic powers to accomplish such transformations. Cf. note 54 above. Vives commenting on *City of God* XVIII. 18 (b) rejoined that Apuleius adopted and adapted the story from Lucian and wrote for entertainment. Besides: (c) 'Graeca credulitas eo processit ut nullum tam impudens mendacium sit quod teste careat'.

<sup>100</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 9 and Isaiah 66. 24.

<sup>101</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 10, citing Matthew 25. 41.

<sup>102</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 15 (b): 'hoc etiam dixerunt philosophi qui animas mortales aut diuturnas tantum posuerunt. nam vel omni precio seposito bene vivere plus iuvat quam male, & ipsa virtus est sibi amplissimum praemium, foeliciores sunt boni etiam dum hic vivunt, quam mali quantumlibet fortunati. atque hoc est quod Christus sectatoribus suis amplam mercedem non modo in futura promittit vita, sed etiam in praesenti'.

als of this present life, the pitfalls that beset a person from infancy to old age, Vives reminded the reader of Plato's exhortation to educate the young, a precept all the more valuable when it was implemented under the law of grace.<sup>103</sup>

It was therefore not unfitting that where Augustine rejected the claim of those who planned to be saved from hell because they had participated in the Eucharist, the 'bread of life', Vives described the transforming power of the sacrament: just as separate grains of wheat became indistinguishable from each other once they had been ground and were baked as flour for Eucharistic bread, so members of the Church, dropping their 'earlier predilections' became 'new creatures, linked to others by charity'.<sup>104</sup> In conclusion, therefore, when Augustine warned that works of mercy as such were insufficient to save a person from hell, Vives, reflecting on his own time, pointed out that, indeed, alms given from proceeds gained in a so-called just war, from loot taken in a captured city, would not help the giver. Besides, he added, the grace of God cannot be purchased, least of all when the giver is at enmity with his neighbour, with which Vives returned to the practical precepts of Christian living that occupied him so frequently elsewhere: 'God does not need reconciliation with us. But the brother whom you offended and saddened needs it. You yourself need reconciliation with your brother, and he needs it with you, so that you may approach the altar of the Ruler of the world purified and with a more quiet and more becoming frame of mind.'<sup>105</sup> In short, Vives, not unlike Erasmus, drew attention away from the last things, which he

<sup>103</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 16. Vives drew his examples from classical Antiquity, contrasting the poise and charm of Plato's conduct and the coarse ill manners of Diogenes the Cynic. As for the eternal fire that awaits the wicked, Augustine wrote: 'nequaquam tamen negandum est etiam ipsum aeternum ignem pro diversitate meritorum quamvis malorum aliis leviolem, aliis futurum esse graviolem, sive ipsius vis atque ardor pro poena digna cuiusque varietur, sive ipse aequaliter ardeat, sed non aequali molestia sentiat'. Vives instead adhered to the text of Scripture: (d) "Ipsum aeternum ignem." Iuxta illud domini in evangelio: "Tyro & Sidoni remissibilis erit in die iudicii", & alia dicta eiusdem mentis complura.'

<sup>104</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XXI. 25 (a): 'Nam de eodem cibo omnes sumunt, quod est magnum ad concordiam vinculum. Deinde panis cuius specie tegitur tantum mysterium, ex multis fit granis, sed contusis confusisque & in aliam materiam versis, ut iam nusquam grana appareant, sed nova res ex eis confecta, una ex innumeris: sic ad dei Ecclesiam plurimi admittuntur, qui prioribus illis humanis exuti affectibus, & mutati in novam creaturam, non iam ipsi esse videantur, qui prius, sed alii per charitatem coniuncti & commisti in corpus Ecclesiae transeant, quae sola existat & cernatur, nec ullus sua vel cogitet vel curet, sed tantum corporis. baptismi aqua nos & fratres & rem unam eandemque facit, mutua charitas saporem, colorem, formam & perfectionem dat operi, ut ignis pani, itaque nihil excogitari poterat, quod sic referret imaginem illius Ecclesiae, quam instituebat Christus.'

<sup>105</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 27 and Vives's commentary.

thought could not be known in any detail, and called for the daily practice of the Christian life.<sup>106</sup>

Vives's commentary on Book XXI of the *City of God*, replete as that book is with visions of the fires, pains, and sorrows of hell, ends with an extended reflection on Augustine's very brief mention of Vergil's Elysian Fields of the blessed, inhabited by those who were able to gain influential friends and thereby, it is implied, entry into Elysium. Though Augustine had been much occupied with Vergil's ideas about body and soul in the afterlife, he never discussed the poet's haunting and beautiful description of the fields of the blessed. Vives, however, quoted and discussed it in full, along with its Homeric antecedent in the *Odyssey* and the diverse theories of ancient geographers as to the precise whereabouts of Elysium.<sup>107</sup>

Why this pagan perspective that Augustine had worked so hard to put behind him? Like Augustine, so Vives in this commentary and elsewhere lived in ongoing conversations with the authors of classical Antiquity, whose writings he complemented with those of Augustine himself and of the other Church Fathers. In so many of his writings Augustine intended that those Greek and Roman authors should be superseded by Christian ones, yet even he did not achieve this hope. Moreover, by engaging in conversations with those same Greeks and Romans, Vives did just as Augustine had done. Insofar as Augustine's description of the fires of hell that awaited those who did not follow the teachings of Christ in their daily lives were meant to provoke amendment among his readers, we may conclude that he did convince Vives, even though Vives kept his own counsel about those fires of hell.

Vives worked on the *City of God* in his late twenties, at the height of his scholarly powers, which are reflected in the range and energy and, at times, the erudite high spirits of his commentary.<sup>108</sup> Late in life, he returned to some of the themes of the *City of God* and of his commentary in his posthumously published treatise *On the Truth of the Christian Faith* (*De veritate fidei christianae*).<sup>109</sup> Quoting

<sup>106</sup> Might the young Vives have read Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (first edition, 1503)? Among the book's many editions and translations was one in Vives's native Valencia, from 1528 — but, by that time, Vives had long left Spain; see Erasmus, *El enquiridion*, ed. by Alonso and Bataillon.

<sup>107</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, XXI. 27 and Vives's commentary.

<sup>108</sup> On the circumstances and reception, see Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives*, pp. 71, 132–36.

<sup>109</sup> George, 'Author, Adversary and Reader'. By coincidence, two contributors to the current volume (myself and Marcia Colish) had taken Vives's *De veritate* in hand at the same time, though for different projects. The essay by Marcia L. Colish mentioned by George in n. 160

Vergil's line that at some point the souls who have reached Elysium will begin to want to return into bodies, Vives argued that the perennial cosmic migration of souls brought about by this desire was not compatible with the purpose for which human beings had been created and redeemed, which was that they attain the everlasting vision of God.<sup>110</sup> Hence, there would be no 'cycles of time' in the course of which, according to Origen and other Platonists, not to mention Plato himself, sinful souls could free themselves of the consequences of their mistakes.

At the same time, Vives continued to think of human failure not so much as sin, but as error. 'All wrong doing arises from ignorance or weakness', he wrote. This amounted at the very least to querying Augustine's insistence that sin is in some irreducible sense chosen and hence is the product of a corrupted and evil will.<sup>111</sup> Vives, by contrast, thought that virtue could be taught, and he loved the authors of classical Antiquity because, for him, their writings formed the foundation of education in virtue, an education that was complemented and completed by the teaching and example of Christ.<sup>112</sup> In this life, good and evil are intermingled, just as Augustine had said,<sup>113</sup> and at the end of time Christ the judge will separate them. What then of the damned and of hell? At the judgement,

the consciences of all will be manifest to all, and in an instant of time each and every one will pronounce sentence on himself. A good person will approach God with trust, and a wicked one will be afraid of God, and thanks to being afraid will

had not yet been published when I was completing revisions to this study (April 2009), but the author kindly shared her work with me and I thank her warmly. See also Colish, 'The *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* of Juan Luis Vives'. On the place of *De veritate* in Vives's theological work, see Belarte Forment, 'Aproximación al estudio de la teología humanista de Vives'.

<sup>110</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, II. 22, with an unacknowledged quotation of Vergil (see *Aeneid*, VI. 750–51): 'immemores supera ut convexa revisant | rursus, et incipiant in corpora velle reverti'. Augustine adverted to these lines, *City of God*, x. 30, XIV. 5, XXII. 26.

<sup>111</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, II. 22: 'delictum omne ex ignorantia aut imbecillitate nascitur'. But see also *De veritate*, I. 17: some people ask, 'an non peccatum omne voluntatis est? Ita plane'. Vives goes on to discuss original sin.

<sup>112</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, II. 22; v. 7, discussing Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*; 5. 10: 'Dominus Iesus, qui caecorum oculos aperuit, dignetur sanare oculos omnium, atque aperire, ut sanctam suam et saluberrimam intueantur lucem'. Note that Vives connects the cure of the eyes of the body in Christ's miracles with curing the eyes of the spirit. Cf. *De veritate*, II. 20: human beings 'rapi volunt in altum portentis, ut inquit Ficinus, non virtutum gradibus ascendere'. The influence of Vives as an educator, a teacher of virtue was immeasurable; see González González and Gutiérrez Rodríguez, *Los diálogos de Vives y la imprenta*. A theme worth investigating would be his role in the formulation of Jesuit education in 'grammar and virtue', for which see McCormack, 'Grammar and Virtue'.

<sup>113</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, II. 23. For Augustine, cf. note 37 above.

feel hatred; hatred in turn induces sorrow, envy, and anger, and the hatred will never be extinguished. [...] Eternal hatred in turn will generate eternal pain.<sup>114</sup>

During his later years Vives thus moved closer to Augustine's position about the eternity of hell and punishment. But he took away with one hand what he yielded with the other in that he explained eternal punishment not so much as an act of God but as self-condemnation, the state of mind that results from moral judgement one passes against what is reprobate in one's own life.

Altogether, he was averse to pronouncing judgements as to the ultimate destiny of human beings, beyond insisting, again and again, on the love of God for all. In the commentary on the *City of God*, Vives considered the condition of those who lived in those 'far distant lands of the Ocean Sea' and had never heard the Gospel. A good many among Vives's contemporaries thought those peoples were beyond the reach of salvation.<sup>115</sup> Vives, however, weaving together a passage from Paul's letter to the Romans and another from the Gospel of John, disagreed:

'The nations who do not have the law and who naturally perform the things of the law, are a law to themselves'; the light of living in this way is a gift of God, and proceeds from the Son, of whom it is written: 'who enlightens every human being who comes into this world'.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, II. 23: 'Conscientiae omnium omnibus patebunt, ita momento temporis unusquisque de se pronuntiabit; bonus accedet ad Dominum cum fiducia, malus autem metuet Deum, et ex metu oderit; odium autem inducet moerorem, invidiam, rabiem; et odium hoc nunquam restinguetur, quia in tanta acerbitate, ac diritate tormentorum nemo ad se unquam revertetur, nec ad reputationem suorum scelerum, et divinae justitiae; sed quod videmus hic inter nos contingere, ut nemo sit tam nocens, ac nefarius, qui in tormentis, et cruciatibus meminerit, legum, juris, aequitatis, tum suorum commissorum scelerate, impie, nefarie, se injuste torqueri clamat, et conqueritur, ita et daemones, et impii daemonum socii, in tormentis illis injuriam sibi a Deo fieri clamabunt, et illum velut iniquum incessant conviciis ac oderint. Odium vero aeternum aeternam quoque poenam efficiet.' I have translated *poena* as 'pain'; one could also translate it as 'penalty' or 'punishment', thus getting closer to Augustine's view of hell as punitive. But the cause and nature of the sufferer's condition would still be the state of mind. See also *De veritate*, v. 8, where Vives suggests that eternal death, consisting of loss of all consciousness, would be a comfort to the wicked, who would thus not suffer the consequences of their actions; cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 107CD. On the afterlife of wicked souls in Plato, see Landmann, *Ursprungsbild und Schöpfungstat*, pp. 72–74. For Augustine's take on this problem, cf. note 82 above. Vives, *De veritate*, v. 9: 'qui odit in vitio, in morbo est voluntatis'.

<sup>115</sup> Hence, at least so far as the ideal was concerned, to save souls from the power of the devil was the primary aim of missionaries. See Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism*; see also Lomnitz, *Death and the Idea of Mexico*, especially chap. 1; MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*; Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*.

<sup>116</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XVIII. 47 (a): 'gentes, quae legem non habent & naturaliter ea

The salvation of the peoples of the New World arose once more in *De veritate*: ‘What is the future of those to whom the Gospel has not been preached?’ Our duty, so Vives thought, consists of conforming ourselves to Christ who instructed the apostle Peter to follow him without enquiring what would happen to another disciple: ‘If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you?’<sup>117</sup> Besides, wars and divisions among Christians in Europe invalidated any negative views they might want to express about the gentiles of ‘this New World’.<sup>118</sup>

Augustine wrote the *City of God* in eventful and troubled times, but he was sure of his judgements as to the ultimate destinies of human beings. Vives also wrote in eventful and troubled times, and it is difficult to say to what extent the upheavals of his time, especially the European discovery of the peoples and civilizations of the Americas, conditioned his thinking about the limits of empathy. At any rate, the emergence in European consciousness of an entire continent where the Gospel had not been preached made it harder for persons of conscience to assert old certainties. Regarding the ultimate destinies of human beings, Vives near the end of his life thus thought it wiser to revere the purpose of God, rather than to examine and to scrutinize it. This was why Paul had exclaimed, ‘Oh the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgements and his ways past finding out!’<sup>119</sup> — a verse Vives also quoted in his *City of God* commentary to accompany Augustine’s reflections on the Trinity.<sup>120</sup>

Sabine MacCormack†

late Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC

Professor of Arts and Letters, University of Notre Dame

quae legis sunt faciunt, ipsaemet sibi sunt lex [Romans 2. 12], & ea lux ita vivendi donum dei est, & a filio proficiscitur. de quo scriptum est, qui illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum [John 1. 9].’ According to Dodaro, ‘The Secret Justice of God and the Gift of Humility’, Augustine would have agreed. A different approach to the problem: Rigby, ‘The Role of God’s “Inscrutable Judgments”’. For the holy men of old (‘antiquos enim sanctos, qui venturi Christi tenuerunt fidem’), see note 89 above. At any rate, many of Augustine’s early modern readers understood him to have argued that baptism was essential for salvation, a position that elided into the opinion of hell for the unbaptized; cf. Madec, *Le Dieu d’Augustin*, pp. 7–23.

<sup>117</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, II. 23, quoting John 21. 22.

<sup>118</sup> Vives, *De veritate*, v. 9.

<sup>119</sup> Romans 11. 33.

<sup>120</sup> Vives, on *City of God*, XI. 24; *De veritate*, II. 24.

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# ROME AND THE ROMANS IN THE MEDIEVAL MIND: EMPATHY AND ANTIPATHY

Thomas F. X. Noble

Over nearly two millennia, the haunting sight of Rome's ruins has provoked many famous reflections on the city's past. Those by two historians, Edward Gibbon (1737–94) and Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821–91), constitute an especially appropriate starting point for this essay. In his memoir, Gibbon wrote these words:

It was at Rome, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind. But my original plan was circumscribed to the decay of the city rather than of the empire.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of the friars singing in Rome's forum signalled to Gibbon a civilizational catastrophe, one from which, perhaps, the Europe of his own day had not recovered. Gregorovius's experience, nearly a century later, was rather different. On 3 October 1854, he stood on the Ponte Fabricio ('the bridge leading to the island of St Bartholomew') and, as I imagine the scene, he gazed to the south, looking beyond the Ponte Rotto towards the very forum region which had evoked Gibbon's resolve. For Gregorovius, ruins were less a residue of decay than a sign of change. 'In a flash' he decided to write the history of medieval Rome. The ruins of one Rome pointed to the birth of another.<sup>2</sup> What these authors have in common is a sense of place, and that place is Rome.

<sup>1</sup> *Gibbon's Autobiography*, ed. by Reese, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, *The Roman Journals*, ed. by Althaus, p. 16.

Gibbon was twenty-seven years old when he formed his plan; Gregorovius was older by some six years. Twelve centuries earlier, the dilapidated state of Rome inspired another man, not a visitor from the north but a Roman blue-blood. In his *Homilies on Ezekiel* (593), Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604) spoke as follows:

What is there now, I ask, of delight in this world? Everywhere we observe strife; everywhere we hear groans. Cities are destroyed, fortresses are turned over, fields are depopulated, the land has returned to solitude. There is no farmer in the fields, nor hardly any inhabitants in the cities. The survivors, poor dregs of humanity, are daily crushed down without cessation. And yet the blows of heaven's justice have no end, because among the blows those guilty of evil acts are not corrected. Some are carried off to captivity, some are left limbless, some are killed. Again I ask, my brothers, what is there left of delight? If we love a world such as this, it is not because we love its joys but its misfortunes. See what has befallen Rome, formerly mistress of the world. She is worn down by great sorrows, by the disappearance of her citizens, by the attacks of her enemies, by numerous ruins. Thus we see brought to fulfillment what this same prophet [Ezekiel] long ago pronounced on the city of Samaria.<sup>3</sup>

Commenting on Ezekiel might well induce feelings of despair in anyone, but I wish to draw attention to an intriguing aspect of Gregory's reflection. He speaks of Rome but does so, I think, by synecdoche for the whole of the Roman Empire and for the civilizational order which Rome represents. His description is vivid but it implies rather more than it says. For Gregory, Rome is at once a physical, tangible entity, and an idea. Both Gibbon and Gregorovius had read Gregory. I would not care to suggest that he inspired their ruminations on Rome, but I think it legitimate to see them as thinking along the same lines.

In what follows, I shall make some observations on Rome from the days of its first Christian emperor to the time when the popes departed for Avignon. I shall pursue primarily the *idea* of Rome, and in doing so I shall particularly emphasize how people talked about, and thus revealed their thoughts about, the city itself. Medieval people lived with the ghosts of Rome. Gregorovius once said that 'during the Middle Ages, the reverence of the nations for the city was unbounded'.<sup>4</sup> Gregorovius notwithstanding, it will become clear that few people in the Middle Ages had in mind a particularly cheerful idea of Rome. During the Middle Ages, countless people went to Rome — chiefly pilgrims, clerics, diplomats, and merchants. If the city itself — both the contemporary physical reality and the evoca-

<sup>3</sup> Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, trans. by Adriaen, II. 6. 22 (p. 311); cf. I. 9. 9 (p. 128).

<sup>4</sup> Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, trans. by Hamilton, I, 19.

tive historical past — tended to prompt mixed feelings, the Romans themselves were scorned. Medieval people had in mind, that is, some very real and largely negative ideas about Romans.

As both ideal and reality, Rome generated powerful feelings of both empathy and antipathy. Amid these discussions of empathy, I have tackled an odd and difficult focus for my investigation: a city and its people. In pursuing a series of reflections on both, I take a variety of positive and negative expressions of emotion and feeling to represent empathy and its antithesis, antipathy. That is, Rome provoked admiration, aspiration, emulation, or inspiration, but also nostalgia, and beyond that, disgust, sadness, despair, and wistfulness. Behind all these expressions is a powerful and continuous sense that Rome is a living reality, neither a historical relic nor merely a spot on the map. At the same time, the Romans often evoked feelings of anger, frustration, despite, and revulsion. If the city itself provoked some antipathy, the Romans — primarily the people and the papal government — provoked a great deal. To put this a little differently, there were always people keen to identify with Rome and the Romans and other people who utterly refused to do so.

Surprisingly little has been written about the Roman image in the medieval mind. The wide-ranging but idiosyncratic work of Arturo Graf (*Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, 1882) is hardly noticed anymore. Nor, as far as I can see, are Fedor Schneider's *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (1925) and Elisabeth Pfeil's *Die fränkische und deutsche Romidee des frühen Mittelalters* (1929). Percy Ernst Schramm's *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (1929) is read by students of political ideas, if it is read at all. Josef Benziger's *Invectiva in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter, vom 9. Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (1968) along with a substantial article (1973) by Gerd Tellenbach<sup>5</sup> are suggestive but incomplete, and neither has induced anyone to prepare their obvious partner *Romerlob im Mittelalter*. Rosamond McKitterick has recently excavated Carolingian attitudes towards Rome in some historical writings of the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>6</sup> Otherwise the person interested in this subject must dig relentlessly in the literature for a chapter here or a paragraph there. Instead of passing scholarship in review, or of commenting on its omissions and shortcomings, let us turn to the sources. They are richer, more numerous, and more illuminating than one might suppose.

<sup>5</sup> Tellenbach, 'Die Stadt Rom in der Sicht ausländischer Zeitgenossen'. Translations of a few helpful texts are collected in Thompson, *The Idea of Rome from Antiquity to the Renaissance*.

<sup>6</sup> McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, esp. pp. 35–61.

The following pages concentrate resolutely on the West. This focus may be attributed to considerations of length and to the fact that people in Western Europe in the Middle Ages thought more deeply, and more often, about Rome than did their contemporaries in the East. Moreover, Western reflections have been more intellectually and ideologically consequential for the subsequent course of Western civilization than thoughts expressed anywhere else. What is more, writers — how can we know about non-writers? — in the Christian Roman East said almost nothing about the city of Rome itself and, apart from occasional slurs, which were usually reciprocated, very little about the Romans.<sup>7</sup> Of sympathy in the East, there was little. Of empathy, there was none.

For there was once a ‘New Rome’, or a ‘Second Rome’, namely Constantinople, the city founded by Constantine in 324 and ceremoniously dedicated six years later. It is a legend that Constantine called his city ‘New Rome’,<sup>8</sup> but at the first Council of Constantinople in 381 the new eastern capital was indeed called ‘New Rome’ (νέα Ρώμη), as it was again at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.<sup>9</sup> In the sixth century Corippus (died after 567) spoke of *nova Roma* three times in his poem in praise of Justin I.<sup>10</sup> A century or so later the anonymous *Chronicon Paschale* spoke of ‘second Rome’ (Ρώμη αὐτὴν δευτέραν).<sup>11</sup> Throughout the Byzantine period, Constantinople, often *pars pro toto* — where *toto* is the Roman past — and the Byzantine Empire were referred to as ‘New’ or ‘Second’ Rome. Byzantium’s claims were widely accepted in the East. In Arabic, Byzantium was *Rumiya* and its people *Rumi*. When the Seljuk Turks captured wide swathes of Byzantine territory, they denominated them the Sultanate of *Rum*.<sup>12</sup>

These are powerful claims. Readers will encounter below references to Western cities that claimed parity with or even superiority over Rome. The Byzantine claims therefore require some characterization and delimitation. They are purely political and ideological. The culture of the Byzantine East was never Latin. After Byzantium ceased to use Latin in administration, in the seventh century, ancient Rome’s cultural heritage had no further resonance in the East. The themes that will be developed below pertaining to Western Europe’s acknowledgement and

<sup>7</sup> Hunger, *Graeculus perfidus — Italos itamos*, is, at fifty-two pages, a wide-ranging but brief survey.

<sup>8</sup> Irmscher, “Neurom” oder “zweites Rom”, p. 435.

<sup>9</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Tanner, I, 32, 100.

<sup>10</sup> Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, ed. by Cameron, III. 156, IV. 101, 141 (pp. 65, 76, 77).

<sup>11</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. by Dindorf, xvi, 529.

<sup>12</sup> The fullest study remains Dölger, ‘Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner’.

appropriation of the Roman heritage, or references to the city itself, had no echo. It is true that Byzantine tradition inextricably linked the Roman imperial tradition and the Christian religion, fused *romanitas* and *Christianitas*, so to speak. But neither the East nor the West troubled to understand each other. Each assumed the other was simply wrong.<sup>13</sup>

It all begins with Virgil (Vergil, 70–19 BCE). I could exhaust the space available to me in this brief essay by rehearsing scholarly arguments over whether medieval readers knew Virgil at first or second hand, but it suffices to say that literate medieval people considered Virgil's *Aeneid* the schoolbook par excellence. Early in Book I, Virgil portrays Juno as she beseeches her father, Jupiter, the king of the gods, to keep his promises to Aeneas's storm-tossed men. Mighty Jupiter responds:

No need to be afraid, Cytherëa,  
Your children's destiny has not been changed [...]  
For these I set no limits, world or time,  
But make the gift of empire without end.<sup>14</sup>

In Book VI, Aeneas learns prophecies of future greatness when he visits his father's shade in the underworld:

Roman, remember, by your strength to rule  
Earth's peoples — for your arts are to be these:  
To pacify, to impose the rule of law,  
To spare the conquered, to battle down the proud.<sup>15</sup>

The fourth-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus apparently had internalized the message, for he spoke of Rome as 'destined to endure as long as the human race survives' and, he insisted, Rome is accepted everywhere 'as mistress and queen'.<sup>16</sup> The same optimistic spirit pervades the poetry of Rutilius Claudius Namatianus (fl. 412–17), who bumbled forth gleefully on his return to Rome after a voyage:

Again and again I kiss the portals of Rome.  
Slowly my feet cross the sacred threshold,

<sup>13</sup> Rapp, 'Hellenic Identity, Romanitas, and Christianity in Byzantium', pp. 140–46; Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, esp. chap. 2; Hitchner and Kazhdan, 'Rome'; Wolff, 'The Three Romes', is an elegant reminder that, eventually, Moscow claimed to be the 'Third Rome'.

<sup>14</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Fitzgerald, I. 347–48, 374–75 (pp. 12–13).

<sup>15</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Fitzgerald, VI. 1151–54 (p. 190).

<sup>16</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. and trans. by Rolfe, XIV. 6. 3, XIV. 6. 6: 'victura dum erunt homines Roma', 'domina et [...] regina' (I, 36 and 38).

I beg forgiveness for leaving, I offer  
 a sacrifice in words garbled by tears:  
     Hear me, Rome, queen of the world, and brightest jewel  
 in the vault of heaven. Hear me mother  
 of men and the gods: your temples bring heaven near;  
 We chant your praise as long as we have breath.  
 No man will ever be safe if he forgets you;  
 may I praise you still when the sun is dark.<sup>17</sup>

Note the common themes and language — ‘queen of the world,’ ‘mother of men.’ And also the sense of destiny that was still powerful in Late Roman times, and that lasted long afterwards.

Roughly contemporary with Ammianus and Rutilius Claudius Namatianus was Jerome (c. 341/47–420). In far-off Bethlehem, he learned of Rome’s sack by the Goths in 410. His despair is palpable:

A dreadful rumor reached us from the West. We heard that Rome was besieged, that citizens were buying their safety with gold, and that when they had been thus despoiled they were again beleaguered so as to lose not only their substance but their lives. The speaker’s voice failed and sobs interrupted his utterance. The city which had taken the whole world was itself taken; nay, it fell by famine before it fell by the sword, and there were but a few found to be made prisoners. The rage of hunger had recourse to impious food; men tore off one another’s limbs, and the mother did not spare the baby at her breast.<sup>18</sup>

In his commentary on Ezekiel, in lines surely known to Gregory, Jerome asked: ‘Who would believe that Rome, built up by the conquest of the whole world, had collapsed, that the mother of nations had become also their tomb?’<sup>19</sup> In a letter written in 396 he had already said: ‘For twenty years and more the blood of Romans has every day been shed between Constantinople and the Julian Alps [...]. The Roman world is falling.’ But no matter how Ciceronian his night-sweats may have been,<sup>20</sup> he quoted (or, rather, paraphrased) Virgil: ‘Had I a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths | A throat of iron, | I could not tell the names of all those punishments.’<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, ed. by Bachrens, p. 6, lines 43–54; I cite the translation by Isbell, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*, p. 222.

<sup>18</sup> *Epistulae*, 127. 12 (Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. by Hilberg, II, 154); Jerome, *Select Letters*, trans. by Wright, p. 463.

<sup>19</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*, ed. by Glorie, ‘Preface’, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> Letter 22. 30 (Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. by Hilberg, I, 189–90).

<sup>21</sup> Letter 60. 16 (Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. by Hilberg, I, 571). Jerome has ‘non mihi si linguae

Jerome and Rutilius shared a worldview, but not a faith; or, they both shared a faith in Rome, yet one was Christian and the other pagan. How different were their reactions. For Jerome, Rome was under siege, the Roman order threatened. For Rutilius, who was probably returning to Rome in about 417, seven years after the Gothic sack, Rome was as much an object of beauty and desire as ever. The just-then-visible triumph of Christianity made all the difference.

Rome's eternity seemed neither assured nor desirable to Jerome's and Rutilius's younger contemporary, Bishop Augustine of Hippo (354–430). He, too, reflected on the Gothic sack, especially in his *City of God*:

You must bear in mind that in mentioning these facts I am still dealing with the ignorant, the people whose stupidity has given rise to the popular proverb 'No rain! It's all the fault of the Christians.' The well educated who are fond of history are readily acquainted with these facts, but they wish to inflame the hatred of the illiterate mobs against us, and so they pretend not to know the facts, and do their best to support the vulgar notion that the disasters which are bound to fall on humanity during a given period and over a given area are to be laid at the door of Christianity which, in opposition to their gods, is being extended everywhere with immense prestige and unexampled popularity. So let us help them recall the many and various disasters which overwhelmed the Roman state before Christ's incarnation — before his name became known to the nations, and received that honour which aroused their ineffectual envy.<sup>22</sup>

Much later in the *City of God*, Augustine addressed Rome's eternity with a serenity that might have saddened Virgil and puzzled Rutilius:

That last persecution, to be sure, which will be launched by Antichrist, will be extinguished by Jesus himself, present in person. [...] Here the usual question is, 'When will this happen?' But the question is completely ill-timed. For had it been in our interest to know this, who could have been a better informant than the Master, God himself, when the disciples asked him? [...] He replied, 'It is not for you to know the

centum sint oraue centum | Ferrea vox, | Omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.' Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Fitzgerald, vi. 625–27 (p. 176) has: 'Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum, | ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas, | omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.' In Letter 123. 17 (Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. by Hilberg, II, 94), Jerome paraphrased the same lines from the *Aeneid* albeit a little differently: 'Had I a hundred tongues a hundred mouths, | a throat of iron | The woes of captives I could not relate | Or even recount the names of the slain' (*omnia caesorum percurrere nomina possim*).

<sup>22</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, II. 3 (I, 36–37); Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Bettenson, p. 50.

times which the Father has reserved for his own control.' It is in vain therefore that we try to reckon and put a limit to the number of years that remain for this world.<sup>23</sup>

If, for Augustine, Rome was not and could not be eternal, the city was not even very important in strictly historical terms. Whereas Augustine's protégé Orosius traced a succession of fallen states as a way of salving the wound of Rome's recent distress, Augustine himself, again in the *City of God*, took a different line:

Although there are many great peoples throughout the world, living under different customs in religion and morality and distinguished by a complex variety of languages, arms, and dress, it is still true that there have come into being only two main divisions, as we may call them, in human society: and we are justified in following the lead of the Scriptures and calling them two cities. There is in fact one city of men who choose to live by the standard of the flesh, another of those who chose to live by the standard of the spirit.<sup>24</sup>

If Ammianus empathized with the idea of Rome's destiny, and adopted one reading of Virgil, there is evidence that he may have taken on board another Virgilian theme. The *Aeneid* surely praises Rome's glorious past and looks expectantly towards a long and glorious future. This might be taken as an authentic sentiment or else as unvarnished propaganda on behalf of the Augustan regime. Woven through its tales of wars, depredations, and catastrophes is a thread of melancholy and of the sadness of the human condition. Some Romans, at least, were pretty awful people. Ammianus knew that, too, and about the Roman people he expressed only antipathy. The 'magnificence and splendour' of Rome are betrayed by a 'worthless few' who are pompous and useless, including, in his day, the empire's Christian rulers. Too many are concerned about the height of their coaches, the cut of their garments, and the number of their followers. Social intercourse is marked more by prevarication than by honour and respect. Vice and immorality are rampant, he said.<sup>25</sup> He details the failings of Rome's elite for pages and pages before changing the direction of his vituperations towards the masses. That he could so sharply differentiate his beloved Rome from the detestable Romans tells us much about the potential for bifurcation in human emotional responses, even if we set aside modern psychological insights on split personality and paranoia.

<sup>23</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, xviii. 53 (II, 652–53); Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Bettenson, p. 838.

<sup>24</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, xiv. 1 (II, 414); Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Bettenson, p. 547.

<sup>25</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. and trans. by Rolfe, xiv. 6. 7–24, xxviii. 4. 6–27 (I, 38–50; III, 140–56).

Medieval people inherited several intertwined ideas about Rome. Rome was eternal, and its end would signal the end of the world. Rome was under siege and in a perilous state of decline. Rome was a matter of principled indifference. The Roman people, perhaps once respectable and admirable, exhibited every vice and fault. Each of these complex variations on Rome reverberated in a variety of different medieval sources.

Right across the Middle Ages we can hear echoes of Virgil's and of Ammianus's sense of Roman destiny. Some assuredly early medieval lines, long but erroneously attributed to Bede, are illustrative: 'As long as the Colosseum stands, Rome stands | When the Colosseum falls, Rome falls; | When Rome falls, the world ends.'<sup>26</sup> At around the same time, Modoin (c. 770–840/43), one of Charlemagne's court poets, spoke of the *caput mundi*, but for him this was the rising residential, spiritual, and governing structure at Aachen which he hoped to visit, not to see Caesar, but David: 'in my weariness my great passion was to set foot in the palace of David, for *that* is to see the famous capital of the world' and 'where the world's capital is to be found we may perhaps call Rome'. In a sense, all the ideas converge in Modoin's exuberant outburst in the same poem:

My Palaemon looks out from the lofty citadel of New Rome  
and sees all the kingdoms forged into an empire through his victories.  
Our times are being transformed into the civilization of antiquity.  
Golden Rome is reborn and restored anew to the world.<sup>27</sup>

The so-called Astronomer, writing in about 841 a *Life* of Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious (778–840), said that Charles had wished to visit Rome, 'once mistress of the world.'<sup>28</sup> The Astronomer had read his Gregory. It is at least possible that someone had read it to Charles, too. A few years later the anonymous Xanten annalist called Cologne the world's most elegant city after Rome.<sup>29</sup> In the tenth century Flodoard (893/94–966) picked up on the same theme by saying that whereas Rome had been founded by Romulus, Reims could count Remus as its founder.<sup>30</sup> Richer of Reims, who wrote a few decades after Flodoard, called

<sup>26</sup> *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, ed. by Bayless and Lapidge, no. 14 (pp. 132–33).

<sup>27</sup> *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. by Godman, no. 24 (p. 190, line 15) and 39 (p. 192, lines 24–27).

<sup>28</sup> Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. by Tremp, p. 292: 'dominam quondam orbis.'

<sup>29</sup> *Annales Xantenses*, ed. by von Simson, a. 869 (pp. 27–28): 'Sponsa vero Guntharii, quae quondam post Romam elegantissima habebatur.'

<sup>30</sup> Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. by Heller and Waitz, I. 1–2 (p. 412).

Rome *caput mundi*.<sup>31</sup> A little later, while referring to events that occurred earlier, Dudo of St Quentin (c. 960–1026) spoke of Hasting, leader of the Vikings' attack on the west coast of Italy in 860. Hasting mistook the city of Luni for Rome and gloried in believing that he had captured Rome, the head of the world (*caput mundi*). 'He congratulated himself on holding command of the whole world through that city which he thought to be Rome and which was the mistress of the nations (*dominatrix gentium*).'<sup>32</sup> In the twelfth century Stephan of Rouen (fl. 1134–70) more or less copied Dudo's story and used similar language about Rome. Speaking again of Hasting, Stephan said, 'He thought very well of himself for having conquered the mistress of the world (*dominam mundi*) which neither fierce Catiline nor Hannibal himself had been able to do.'<sup>33</sup>

Yet another echo of Rome's grandeur and destiny is to be found in the hexameter *Ligurinus*, dedicated to Frederick Barbarossa and his sons in the 1180s. In describing the moment when Frederick first saw Rome, the obscure author, perhaps a Gunther, surely captures the anticipation felt by many in the endless stream of visitors to the city: 'Then the prince, already approaching over the tip of the hill [he means the Monte Mario] saw for the first time the famous city which he had never seen before. The people give this hill the festive name "Mount of Joy" because those who seek the famous walls from that side view the city for the first time from that height.'<sup>34</sup>

The views of another visitor may serve to conclude this series of reflections. The accomplished poet, Bishop of Le Mans, and Archbishop of Tours, Hildebert (c. 1053–1133), said 'nothing is equal to you Rome'. He continued in a passage that is lengthy but too good to pass up:

Rome, still thy ruins grand beyond compare,  
Thy former greatness mournfully declare,  
Though time thy stately palaces around  
Hath strewed, and cast thy temples to the ground.  
Fall'n is the power, the power Araxes dire  
Regrets now gone, and dreaded when entire;  
Which arms and laws, and ev'n the gods on high  
Bade o'er the world assume the mastery;  
Which guilty Caesar had rather had enjoyed  
Alone, that e'er a fostering hand employed.

<sup>31</sup> LaTouche, *Histoire de France*, I. 7 (1, 22).

<sup>32</sup> *De moribus et actis primorum Normannia ducum*, ed. by Lair, I. 5 (p. 132).

<sup>33</sup> Étienne de Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, ed. by Howlett, I. 23 (p. 633).

<sup>34</sup> Gunther Poeta, *Ligurinus*, ed. by Assmann, IV. 10–15 (p. 265).

Which gave to foes, to friends, to vice its care  
 Subdued, restrained, or bade its kindness share  
 This growing power the holy fathers reared,  
 Where near the stream the fav'ring spot appeared  
 From either pole, materials, artists meet  
 And rising walls their proper station greet;  
 Kings gave their treasures, fav'ring too was fate,  
 And arts and riches on the structure wait.  
 Fall'n is that city, whose proud fame to reach,  
 I merely say, 'Rome was', there fails my speech.  
 Still neither time's decay, nor sword, nor fire,  
 Shall cause its beauty wholly to expire.  
 Human exertions raised that splendid Rome,  
 Which gods in vain shall strive to overcome.  
 Bid wealth, bid marble, and bid fate attend,  
 And watchful artists o'er the labor bend,  
 Still shall the matchless ruin art defy  
 The old to rival, or its loss supply.  
 Here gods themselves their sculptur'd forms admire,  
 And only to reflect those forms aspire;  
 Nature unable such like gods to form,  
 Left them to man's creative genius warm;  
 Life breathes within them, and the suppliant falls,  
 Not to the God, but statues in the walls.  
 City thrice blessed! Were tyrants but away,  
 Or shame compelled them justice to obey.<sup>35</sup>

William of Malmesbury (1095–1143) quoted these lines and then asked: 'Are not these sufficient to point out in such a city, both the dignity of its former advantages, and the majesty of its present ruin?' William then continued to supply a deficiency he noted in Hildebert by inventorying the gates of Rome and major churches adjacent to them.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Hildebert of Lavardin, 'De Roma', ed. by Scott (see also no. 38, 'De Roma', pp. 25–27). I cite the translation by John Sharpe (1645–1715), as adapted by John Allen Giles (1808–89) and excerpted in Thompson, *The Idea of Rome from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, pp. 160–61. The phrase 'Rome has been' (*Roma fuit*) is a learned allusion to the classical tag, *Illium fuit* ('Illium has been'), affirming that Troy was a thing of the past. 'Roma fuit' in Hildebert's poem was intended to bring to mind a parallel to meditations connecting the fall of Troy with the glories of Rome, such as Tacitus recorded in his letters and *Annals* after visiting the site of Troy. The question Hildebert implicitly asked was: 'What is rising from the ruins of Rome?'

<sup>36</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, chap. 352, I, 615.

William's interests, and those of Hildebert, bring me to a second set of medieval reflections on Rome. Down to the words quoted from the *Ligurinus*, and also from William and Hildebert, Rome had stood in people's minds mainly as an idea. Sometimes that idea brought affirmation and encouragement across wide realms of cultural activity. Sometimes the idea was conspicuously political and ideological, a legitimization of current institutional formations in light of an allegedly glorious and exemplary one from the past, or a tacit criticism of modern rulers and institutions which were not up to the standards of ancient glory. Gradually nostalgia for irrevocably past glory began to take on tangible form as people reflected on Rome's monuments. Once in a while, thoughts about Rome were prompted far from Rome itself, for instance, in the haunting Old English poem 'The Ruin'. The author stands in awe of some Roman ruins:

Wondrous is this stone wall, wrecked by fate  
the city-buildings crumble, the works of giants decay.  
Roofs have caved in, towers collapsed  
barred gates are broken [...]  
The earth's embrace  
its fierce grip, holds the mighty craftsmen;  
They are perished and gone. A hundred generations  
have passed away since then.<sup>37</sup>

While the Franks were besieging Barcelona in 801, the city's leader, Zado, tried to rally his people by reminding them that the race of Romulus had built their city's walls and that, having taken a thousand years to erect, the city was bound to withstand the Franks.<sup>38</sup> At just about the same time, an anonymous visitor to Rome copied down a fairly lengthy series of inscriptions from Rome's buildings and monuments. About two-thirds of these are secular. This document is roughly contemporary with the famous *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, a pilgrim's guide to the city that took pious visitors on a series of twelve tours of the city's major churches. The collection of inscriptions, which is accompanied in its manuscript form by a description of Rome's Aurelian Walls, is at once eloquent and reticent evidence for Carolingian-era interest in what was left of secular Rome.<sup>39</sup> Similar interest in Rome's physical remains emerged several times in the twelfth century. William

<sup>37</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. by Crossley-Holland, pp. 59–60.

<sup>38</sup> Ermoldus Nigellus, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épitres au roi Pépin*, ed. by Faral, I. 105, 374–75, 393 (pp. 12, 32, 34).

<sup>39</sup> All three documents are conveniently available in *Die einsiedler Inschriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom*, ed. by Walser.

of Malmesbury included in his *History of the English Kings* a detailed description of Rome's walls and fourteen gates (not to mention the poem by Hildebert quoted above).<sup>40</sup> William certainly derived his information from some now-lost source, but it is conceivable that there were many of these. Not long after William wrote, the author of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, probably Benedict, a canon of St Peter's, prepared a guide to the city in three parts: Part One lists monuments such as walls, gates, arches, baths, palaces, theatres, bridges, and columns; Part Two recounts legends pertaining to various sites; Part Three is actually a guidebook, arrayed region by region.<sup>41</sup>

Again, at about the same time Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Cluny, replied to a monk, Raymond of Toulouse: 'You write that you wish to see Rome's ruins, as if to tempt me for such a journey would be pleasing.'<sup>42</sup> In addition to Hildebert, and to Peter, who did go to Rome, many other distinguished people of the twelfth century made the trek, drawn to go on Church business but fascinated and inspired by architectural remains: Hugh of Cluny, Suger of St-Denis, Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury (perhaps ten times!), Wibald of Stavelot, Otto of Freising, and Gerhoch of Reichersberg, to mention only some of the more prominent ecclesiastics. One English visitor, Bishop Henry of Winchester (1101–71), went to Rome to get his excommunication lifted and to plead that his bishopric either be elevated to archiepiscopal status or at least be made exempt from Canterbury. He failed in his ecclesiastical mission, but he did buy a number of Roman statues, apparently of pagan deities, which he shipped to England. The story went around that Henry felt compelled to take away the Romans' gods lest they worship them again with their old rites.<sup>43</sup> His compatriot, the shadowy Master Gregory, reveals a genuine aesthetic interest in Rome's monuments, recording a wonderful description of the statue of Marcus Aurelius in front of the Lateran; he measured the Pantheon and said he knew it once had a golden roof; he visited Rome's ancient baths, but was repelled by their sulfurous stench; he describes a whole host of statues and numerous burial pyramids; and he reports on triumphal arches, aqueducts, and the Capitoline

<sup>40</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, chap. 352, pp. 615–21.

<sup>41</sup> *Mirabilia*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, pp. 17–65. The terminus post quem for the work is 1143 for it mentions the tomb of Pope Innocent II who died in that year. The terminus ante quem is controverted.

<sup>42</sup> Letter 117, in Peter the Venerable, *The Letters*, ed. by Constable, I, 309.

<sup>43</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. by Poole, 40 (pp. 80–82).

wolf.<sup>44</sup> But most revealing of all, he tells of a statue of Venus ‘made from Parian marble but through marvellous and inexplicable artistic skill it has become so perfect that it appears to be a living being more than a statue.’<sup>45</sup>

This combination of reminiscent and aesthetic empathies, such as might have warmed the heart of Rutilius, leads me to a set of reflections that are no less poignant but that are nevertheless tinged with Schadenfreude. One almost hears echoes of Jerome and Gregory. This kind of reflection had already begun with Alcuin (c. 735–804): ‘Rome, the head of the world, the world’s honour, golden Rome, | Now there remain to you only so many cruel ruins.’<sup>46</sup>

And in the late tenth century Benedict of St Andrea spoke similarly, albeit at greater length:

Woe to you, Rome, oppressed and trodden under foot by so many nations. You are taken captive by the Saxon king [Otto I], your people are put to the sword, your strength is brought to naught. Your gold and silver are carried away in their purses. A mother you were, a daughter you have become. What you had, you have lost. You are despoiled of your former strength. Formerly glorying in your power you triumphed over nations, cast the world into the dust, strangled the kings of the earth. You grasped the sceptre and wielded great power. Now you are plundered and utterly despoiled by the Saxon king. As some wise men say, and as it will be found written in their histories, you once fought with foreign nations and conquered them from north to south. Now the people of Gaul have camped in your midst. You were too beautiful.<sup>47</sup>

Similar sentiments appear in Gerhoch of Reichersberg (1092/93–1169), who said: ‘We do not complain without reason for we see right up to now in the house of the holy prince of the apostle Peter an abominable desert, for bulwarks have been erected and other military equipment to the height of the shrine and even over the body of the holy Peter.’<sup>48</sup> Master Gregory, whom we have already met, described seeing the city from the eastern hills as ‘such a cornfield of towers, so

<sup>44</sup> Magister Gregorius, *De mirabilibus*, ed. by Rushforth, chaps 4, 5, 8, 12, 21, 22–24, 26, 27–29, 32 (pp. 46–47, 47–48, 49–50, 51, 53, 53–55, 55–56, 56–57, 58). Rushforth’s edition is a slight improvement on ‘Magister Gregorius De mirabilis urbis Romae’, ed. by James. The date of Master Gregorius’s itinerary is contested, but generally set in the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century.

<sup>45</sup> Magister Gregorius, *De mirabilibus*, ed. by Rushforth, chap. 12 (p. 51).

<sup>46</sup> Alcuin, *Carmen* 9, ed. by Dümmler, p. 230.

<sup>47</sup> Benedict of St Andrea, *Chronicon*, ed. by Migne, chap. 39 (cols 50A–B).

<sup>48</sup> Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Commentary on Psalm 64*, ed. by Dümmler and Sackur, p. 461.

many palaces, that it is not possible for a man to enumerate them all'.<sup>49</sup> At almost the same moment Gerald of Wales (1146–1223), who visited Rome at least three times, spoke of vast ruins and empty spaces.<sup>50</sup>

These reminiscences, ranging from the inspired to the wistful, are essentially secular in spirit and in substance. They may be set alongside some other ones that viewed Rome from various Christian perspectives. Educated people in the Middle Ages knew their classical and patristic authors, but they also knew the words of Scripture. In Revelation 17 and 18 they read of Rome as Babylon, not therefore glorious and destined to last, but instead a stinking whore bound to fall. Still others saw Rome as the city of the apostles Peter and Paul and as the location of many martyrs' tombs. Yet ambivalence ever abounded. Rome could be praised because Peter and Paul went there, or reviled because the Romans executed them, celebrated for the tombs of the martyrs, or loathed for the shedding of their blood and as the future seat of Antichrist.

In the early tenth century Ralph (=Raoul) Glaber (before 1000–c. 1050) said that 'as Rome's tyranny declined Christ subjected the world to his rule'.<sup>51</sup> This spirit was caught as well by the Anglo-Saxon poet Cynewulf: 'Wide through the world spread the praise, might and fame of the Master's servants, no mean majesty. Fate guided the sacred band where they should glorify the law of the Lord, make it manifest before men. Some in Rome, brave and warlike, Peter and Paul, laid down their lives through Nero's cruel cunning; widely are the apostles honoured among the nations.'<sup>52</sup>

A few years later, Liudprand of Cremona (c. 920–70/72) said that Constantinople had no right to vaunt itself just because Constantine left Rome, for Peter and Paul went there (albeit in another place he said that Pavia would be greater than Rome 'the most famous city in the world' were it not for Peter and Paul).<sup>53</sup> In a like vein, Arnold of St Emmeram (fl. c. 1030) reasoned: 'This city, namely Rome, was by the apostle Peter and his successors sheltered under the power of Christ and, once the city of the devil, has become the city of God. And in

<sup>49</sup> Magister Gregorius, *De mirabilibus*, ed. by Rushforth, chap. 1 (p. 45).

<sup>50</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum ecclesiae*, ed. by Brewer, IV. 9 (IV, 282).

<sup>51</sup> Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. by France, I. 4 (p. 3).

<sup>52</sup> Cynewulf, *The Fates of the Apostles*, trans. by Gordon, p. 178; orig. in *The Vercelli Book*, ed. by Krapp, p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> *Antapodosis*, III. 6; *Legatio*, chap. 62 (Liudprand of Cremona, *Works*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 71, 215). Translations from Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Squatriti, pp. 114, 279.

place of the ancient ruins are countless churches and monasteries.<sup>54</sup> Manegold of Lautenbach, addressing St Peter around 1100, praised Rome's apostolic origins: 'And in what city did you suffer martyrdom? In the city of Rome, which ruled over the nations, where the head of heathendom was, there the head of holiness rests, where the princes of unbelief dwelled, there the princes of the church reside.'<sup>55</sup> In his poem 'On the Triumph of Christ in Italy', Flodoard said of Rome: 'You sparkle with martyrs and popes, | You shine with multitudes of virgins.'<sup>56</sup> Anselm of Havelberg (c. 1099–1158) believed Rome was 'the most excellent of all cities' but for a particular reason: 'the rosy red blood of the martyrs and the shining white lilies of the virgins'.<sup>57</sup> Here, we might say, is Augustine's gloss on Virgil's triumphalism. Rome had become home not only to the princes of the apostles but also to many saints and martyrs. Rome had become the eternal city in a wholly new sense.

These reflections on holy Rome had a generally positive valence, and the empathy between the writer and the city, both its places and its people, is palpable. But just as Liudprand could imagine Pavia as Rome's superior, so others imagined certain northern cities as ranking just behind Rome in respect of the saints. Cologne, for example, was called second after Rome in the number of its saints,<sup>58</sup> and so was Liège,<sup>59</sup> although one chronicler contested these monopolistic claims and placed the town of Toul in the mix.<sup>60</sup> Gradually, however, in these assertions about rankings of holiness, an antipathy towards Rome emerged. The city of Metz claimed possession of many saints' relics, one author declared, adding that Metz was superior to Rome because the martyrs whose remains had been translated there had not suffered in the city itself.<sup>61</sup> In an anonymous late ninth-century poem Rome took a holy lashing:

<sup>54</sup> Arnold of St Emmeram, *Miracula Sancti Emmerami*, ed. by Waitz, p. 567.

<sup>55</sup> Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebehardum liber*, ed. by Francke, p. 324.

<sup>56</sup> Flodoard, *De triumphis Christi apud Italiam*, ed. by Migne, col. 595C.

<sup>57</sup> Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, ed. by Migne, III. 5 (cols 1213D–1215A).

<sup>58</sup> Anselm of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodensium*, ed. by Koepke, chaps 52, 74 (pp. 220, 234).

<sup>59</sup> Quicherat, 'Chronique liégeoise', p. 223. The poetic author claims that although Constantinople and Jerusalem are more richly endowed with sanctuaries than Liège, they should nevertheless not envy Liège's being ranked alongside them as a third 'Praeter Romam, quae sola omnibus | Dominium habet in urbibus'.

<sup>60</sup> *Narratio rerum in monasterio Sancti Mansueti gestarum*, ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 932.

<sup>61</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici Episcopi Mettensis*, ed. by Pertz, chap. 171 (pp. 477–78).

You hacked down the living saints with a cruel cut  
 And now you sell their mortal remains.  
 Already the merits of Saints Peter and Paul cannot do you any good.  
 For a long time now you have been wretched little Rome.<sup>62</sup>

So Late Antiquity had bequeathed a Rome destined for eternity, or at least some medieval writers saw things that way. Other scribes, however, saw a decrepit legacy. In both camps were observers who concurred that Late Antiquity had bequeathed a Rome that, in Christian guise, had superseded secular, pagan Rome. And then there is a fourth view we have encountered in the sources, especially prominent in Ammianus's antipathetic evaluation of the Romans themselves. Thus far I have tried to show how at least some medieval people thought about, imagined Rome. Perhaps it is not too strong to say that they empathized with the city in some way — if indeed it is possible for people to empathize with a place. In turning towards a conclusion, let us see how medieval writers conjured the very antithesis of empathy: antipathy. Let us see how they reviled the Romans themselves.

Boniface expressed shock and contempt for the indecent and pagan revels of the Roman populace in a letter to Pope Zachary, which did not spare the holy father himself for tolerating lewd behaviour.<sup>63</sup> Notker the Stammerer (840–912) asserted that the Romans were always jealous and regularly rose up against the popes.<sup>64</sup> The tenth-century *Chronicle of Æthelweard* wrote that 'the very savage people of the Romans were stirred by madness, and cut out the tongue of the blessed Pope Leo [III]'.<sup>65</sup> The ealdorman Æthelweard drew in this part of his *Chronicle* from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but the relevant passage in the latter source lacks this harsh editorial comment on the Romans.<sup>66</sup> Perhaps attitudes towards the Romans had changed. Liudprand of Cremona is a good gauge of this shift; for him the worst insult one could hurl was to call someone a Roman: 'We utter no other insult than, "You Roman", to our enemies when aroused, and we understand that single term, the name of the Romans, to include every cowardice, every kind of greed, every promiscuity, every mendacity, indeed every vice.' Liudprand's riposte to Virgil took this form: 'The Annals recognize that fratri-

<sup>62</sup> *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, ed. by Jaffé, v, 457.

<sup>63</sup> Boniface, *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 50 (pp. 84–85).

<sup>64</sup> Notker the Stammerer, *Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen*, ed. by Haefele, I, 26 (pp. 34–35).

<sup>65</sup> *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. and trans. by Campbell, III, 2 (p. 27).

<sup>66</sup> The 'E' manuscript (i.e. Peterborough) of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the attack against Leo under the year 797 but omits the comments about the Romans: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, p. 57.

cidal Romulus, from whose name they are called Romans, was born to a whore, that is, he was generated in defilement; and he made a refuge for himself where he welcomed defaulted debtors from foreign climes, runaway slaves, murderers, and people who deserved death for their crimes.<sup>67</sup> His bitter sarcasm notwithstanding, Liudprand was not wholly out of step with his times. Thietmar of Merseberg (r. 1009–18) spoke of Roman officials ‘for whom all things are venal’.<sup>68</sup> William of Malmesbury, perhaps sitting where Gibbon later sat, thought less about monks singing vespers than ‘about the city, once the sole dwelling of sanctity. There, in the middle of the Forum, murderers wander about, a faithless and sneaky brood’.<sup>69</sup> The acidulous Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) had an equally dim view of the Romans. He wrote to Pope Innocent II:

What can I say about the people? It is the Roman people. I cannot put to you more briefly and precisely what I think about your faithful. What has for ages been so well known as the impudence and pride of the Romans? A people unaccustomed to peace, habituated to rebellion. A cantankerous people without kindness. A people who up to now do not know how to control themselves even when there is no point in struggling. Can you name anyone in the whole city who accepts you as pope if money, or the expectation of money, is not at issue? [...] Who loves no one, no one loves.<sup>70</sup>

Twelfth-century satirists often repeated the acrostic ‘*R(adix) O(mnium) M(alorum) A(varitia)*’, deciphering ‘*Roma*’ to mean ‘Avarice, the root of all evils’.<sup>71</sup> Roman greed reputedly attained lofty proportions. William of Malmesbury, again, said, ‘As for Rome, once mistress of the world [that phrase again: *quondam domina orbis terrarum*] and now, in comparison with Antiquity, more like a small town, and the Romans, in olden times “lords of the world”, “those who the toga wore” [cf. *Aeneid*, I. 282] and now known as the most inactive of mankind, who put justice on the scales against gold and set a price on canon law’ Later in his account he added that even the pope could not restrain ‘the unbridled and congenital avarice of the Romans’.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Legatio*, chap. 12 (Liudprand of Cremona, *Works*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 192–93; Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Squatriti, pp. 246–47).

<sup>68</sup> *Chronicon*, III. 13 (Thietmar of Merseberg, *Die Chronik*, ed. by Holtzmann, p. 112).

<sup>69</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, chap. 201, pp. 364–66.

<sup>70</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, ed. by Migne, IV. 2 (cols 773A–B).

<sup>71</sup> Tellenbach, ‘Die Stadt Rom in der Sicht ausländischer Zeitgenossen’, p. 20.

<sup>72</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, chaps 351, 435, pp. 613, 779.

In Dante (c. 1265–1321), many of the themes we have encountered so far find expression again, albeit with some interesting changes. At one point Dante gently accused the Romans of rudeness — he plays on their alleged unwillingness to use the polite *Voi*.<sup>73</sup> Dante also picks up on the nastiness and greed of the Romans. But for him this was not so much an innate characteristic as a learned bad behaviour taught them by the popes. In particular, he speaks of how Pope Boniface VIII (1295–1308), whom he compares slyly to Satan, taught the Romans greed through his own misrule: ‘Misrule, you see, has caused the world to be malevolent.’<sup>74</sup> Not surprisingly for a man who chose Virgil as his guide through the underworld and into purgatory, Dante has a sense of Rome’s goodness, destiny, and mission. As Virgil and Dante confer early in the *Comedy*, Aeneas is cast, naturally enough, as the founder of Rome and also as the foreshadower of Rome as a sacred place, as the seat of Peter and his successors.<sup>75</sup> Dante, while accepting the foreshadowing of Rome as the seat of rulers, gives vent to his conviction that history has somehow gone terribly wrong. To the emperor, Henry VII distant in Germany, he says: ‘Come, see your Rome who, widowed and alone, weeps bitterly; both day and night she moans, “My Caesar, why are you not at my side?”’<sup>76</sup> The spectacular promise of Virgil’s vision of Rome was to have had two suns, but the popes have now usurped both the splendour allotted to them and that divinely given to the Christian emperors: ‘For Rome, which made the world good, used to have two suns [...] one has eclipsed the other; now the sword has joined the shepherd’s crook; the two must of necessity result in evil.’<sup>77</sup> One sign of this evil is that the popes and cardinals have abandoned the gospel.<sup>78</sup> On the one hand, Dante seems to say that Rome is too good for the Romans. On the other, he says that the evils of the Romans are entirely attributable to the popes, who seized powers that the emperors had abandoned. Yet Dante could also evoke Rome’s beauty. He writes, for example, of his supposition that heaven will appear to him as the Lateran did to the barbarians who descended on Rome so long ago.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, he speaks of heaven as ‘the Rome in which Christ

<sup>73</sup> *Paradiso*, xvi. 10–12, in Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Mandelbaum, p. 453. Page numbers for the Mandelbaum translation are given in parentheses in the following notes.

<sup>74</sup> *Purgatorio*, xvi. 98–105 (pp. 290–91).

<sup>75</sup> *Inferno*, ii. 13–30 (pp. 63–64).

<sup>76</sup> *Purgatorio*, vi. 112–14 (p. 242).

<sup>77</sup> *Purgatorio*, xvi. 106–29 (p. 291).

<sup>78</sup> *Paradiso*, ix. 133–42 (pp. 421–22).

<sup>79</sup> *Paradiso*, xxxi. 30–42 (p. 528).

is a Roman.’<sup>80</sup> Dante could not get Rome out of his mind, and I have no reason to suppose that he ever tried to do so.

I’ll give the last word to Petrarch (1304–74), together with Dante the maker of the modern Italian language. He was just a little boy when the popes left Rome for Avignon. Their self-exile both saddened and angered Petrarch. This father of humanism internalized Latin literature as no one before him had done for nearly a millennium, but it was many years before he saw the city and he knew few Romans. Eventually he did go, with effects he reveals in a letter of 1337 addressed to his patron, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna:

What may you expect from Rome, after my long letter from the mountains? You thought I would write something fine when I should reach Rome. No doubt I have accumulated a lot of matter to write about later, but at present I am so overwhelmed and stunned by the abundant marvels that I shouldn’t dare to begin. But this I shouldn’t conceal: the reverse of your predictions has taken place. For I remember that you used to discourage me from making the journey, arguing that my ardor would cool on seeing a ruined city, falling short of its reputation and of my expectation based on my reading. I, too, though afire with desire, was willing to defer my visit, fearing that the sight of actuality would bring low my high imaginations. Present reality is always hostile to greatness. But, remarkable to say, this presence has diminished nothing but has increased everything. Rome was greater than I thought, and so are its remains. Now I wonder not that the world was ruled by this city but that the rule came so late.<sup>81</sup>

These words might well have been written by Gibbon, perhaps even by Gregorovius. Several of the medieval writers we have encountered would have been in sympathy with Petrarch. It is almost as if, for a thousand years, the mind’s eye saw more than the body’s eye could discern. Nevertheless, this wondrous sense of Rome as a place and as an idea did not translate into a comparable empathy for Romans as people. It is difficult to find anyone who said anything good about them. One criticism by Petrarch explains a lot: ‘Nowhere is Rome less known than in Rome. Therefore I bewail not ignorance alone — though what is worse than ignorance? — but the flight and exile of many virtues. For who can doubt that if Rome should commence to know itself it would rise again?’<sup>82</sup>

Thomas F. X. Noble

Professor of History, University of Notre Dame

<sup>80</sup> *Purgatorio*, xxxii. 101–03 (p. 369).

<sup>81</sup> Petrarch, *Epistolae familiares*, trans. by Bishop, 2. 14 (to Giovanni Colonna), p. 170.

<sup>82</sup> Petrarch, *Epistolae familiares*, trans. by Bishop, 6. 2 (undated, to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, one of Petrarch’s walking companions in Rome and a relative of Cardinal Giovanni Colonna), p. 173.

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## EMPATHY FOR THE OPPRESSOR

Richard Kieckhefer

One evening in August of 1981, I was waiting in the Nürnberg *Bahnhof* for a train to Frankfurt. I had enough time for a beer at the *Gaststätte*, and as I sat at my table I saw men entering across the room, clicking their heels, and greeting each other with the Nazi salute. These were not young neo-Nazi skinheads; they were from an older generation and clearly had remained Nazis since their youth in the forties. When I saw them, I immediately said to myself — and I distinctly remember my reaction — that this was probably the last time in my life I would have a chance to hear from such men directly, from their own mouths, how they perceived the world. To be sure, I had on other occasions met leftovers from the Nazi era: a man who felt he needed to apologize to me for the culture he had been raised in, one who had spent much of the war in a prisoner-of-war camp and still resented it, another who declared over wine, ‘Es war nicht alles Scheisse, was braun war.’<sup>1</sup> They may have spoken more frankly to a stranger than to those whose judgement of them would be a daily burden, and a solitary traveller makes a good father confessor, with or without collar or credentials. But this was the first and only time I had come upon overt and unabashed display of Nazi sentiment, and I was sure I needed to hear what lay behind it, facing it and being faced by it.

I asked if I might sit with them. They were a bit startled, but willing. I told them I was an American, born in 1946. I said I had observed them and wanted to hear what they meant by their actions. One of the group proceeded to speak,

<sup>1</sup> He expanded on this allusion to the Nazi brown shirts: different countries around the world have adopted types of socialism suited to their needs, and Nazism represented a form of socialism appropriate to the German condition, and thus (he said) not everything ‘brown’ was excrement.

in a dialect I had trouble at first understanding, so I had to repeat everything to make sure I had understood. They were from the Sudetenland. By the end of the war he had lost his mother, he had experienced the brutality of the Soviet troops, and he had been driven from the place of his birth. If he and his friends were anti-American, that was because the Americans had been allied with the Soviets. He admitted that their behaviour was influenced in some measure by alcohol. Still, it expressed a resentment rooted in victimhood.

A Jewish colleague of mine, hearing my report of this encounter, commented that one must respect all suffering. Others have responded, less sympathetically, that these men would not have needed to face that suffering had it not been for the Nazis they continued to romanticize. When I spoke with one German about these matters, his position was reasonable and straightforward: in war there are atrocities on both sides, which is a reason not to start wars in the first place. In any case, he was not interested in always hearing his fellow Germans' stories of their misfortunes. His stance was all the more poignant because he himself came from the Sudetenland and was four years old at the end of the war. But then my situation and his are not the same. Telling the Nazis in the train station that I was an American born in 1946 was a way of making clear that for me their experience was historical, and that I spoke not as someone who might share their sense of aggrievement but as a representative of the other side. The distinction is that between obsession with one's own suffering and entering empathetically into another's.

Over the years I have wondered what impact this exchange in the Nürnberg *Bahnhof* had on these men, if any. Perhaps they had a sense that someone had listened to them, they had made their point, and they no longer needed to carry on as they had done. Now that someone had listened to them, they could in some measure let go of their resentment. The opposite is perhaps just as likely. They may have been emboldened to more reckless displays of Nazi sentiment, hoping to attract more travellers to hear their tale. The next time I went to Nürnberg was twenty years later, and I did not stop at the train station then to see what was happening in the *Gaststätte*. In any event — and this is crucial — I had approached the Nazis at their table not because I hoped or expected to make an impact on them. I had done it because this was an opportunity for my own experience, an opportunity I was confident would not return. In this, I suggest, empathy differs from compassion: compassion is always for the sake of the other, the one whose suffering one feels and would if possible alleviate, even if it ennobles the one who feels it, but empathy, however valuable, can be motivated by an urge to extend one's own world of experience by entering vicariously into another person's. It was for my own sake, primarily, that I went up to that table.

When I was in graduate school, one distinguished two main approaches to historical explanation. The positivist model, which assimilated explanation to prediction, applied general laws to particular cases: one explained why an event occurred by showing that causal factors converged in such a way that one could only expect that outcome. The contrasting intuitionist approach, associated mainly with the English philosopher, R. G. Collingwood, sought to understand the minds of historical agents, to get inside people's heads and see how their behaviour made sense to them.<sup>2</sup> But a recent school of economists and psychologists has developed a new option, what can be called a set of 'irrational choice' theories, to account for cases in which people act against their own interests and for no reason that seems to make much sense.<sup>3</sup> For the historian's mill, too, problematic cases often give the finest grist. In my own career I have found myself drawn often — not always — to subjects and themes that I find problematic. Why do people accuse others of flying through the air and eating babies? Why do sensitive souls wake their confessors in the middle of the night to relieve themselves of imagined sins? When is it appropriate to fall back on pathological interpretation of such mentalities and behaviours? When behaviour that might otherwise seem pathological becomes a way of gaining entry into or status within a culture, can we still call it pathological? When I approached the Nazis in the train station at Nürnberg, then, they were at least in part surrogates: I would never be able to interrogate the fourteenth-century inquisitor Bernard Gui or the mystic Henry Suso, but these Nazis were people I could interrogate, if I didn't let them slip through my fingers. I came from a place where anyone who needed to cite a paradigm of evil would reach first for the Nazis, and here they were in front of me, flesh and blood, self-tainted with the most paradigmatic form of evil. How could I not hear them?

My theme, then, is empathy for people when empathy is most difficult, because they themselves seem to lack empathy. In the remainder of this essay, I will focus on one particularly un-empathetic group, the inquisitors of heretical depravity in the later Middle Ages. I will not be arguing that we *should* feel empathy for them, but rather examining the ways historians *have* expressed empathy, sympathy, or related attitudes towards the inquisitors. The epigraph for this essay might well be this statement from one historian of inquisition: 'Sympathize as we must with the Waldenses and the Cathari in their hideous martyrdom, we cannot but feel that the treatment which they endured was inevitable, and we should

<sup>2</sup> See especially Dray, *Philosophy of History*, pp. 4–20, on R. G. Collingwood and Carl G. Hempel.

<sup>3</sup> Kolbert, 'What Was I Thinking?'

pity the blindness of the persecutor as well as the sufferings of the persecuted.' It may well be that *pity* here does not mean the same as *empathize*, but in context it seems clear that the goal is to understand the motives for persecution as one might understand them within the culture — the context being Henry Charles Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*,<sup>4</sup> an enduring classic in the field which (as we will see shortly) is in its own way a remarkable exercise in historical empathy. The point is made more epigrammatically in George Bernard Shaw's Preface to his play *Saint Joan*: 'You might have voted for burning her yourself if you had been a member of the court that tried her; and until you feel that you know nothing essential about her.'<sup>5</sup> Shaw's formulation speaks neither of empathy nor of sympathy but does invite and even require empathetic identification with the inquisitors.

Shaw's play gives us occasion to reflect on the relationship between the empathy of the historian and that available to a literary writer. Ultimately, the difference lies less in perception than in mode of articulation: Shaw's ways of representing an inquisitor do not differ in content from those a historian might make, but as a playwright Shaw had the option of creating a literary inquisitor to serve as mouthpiece for those perceptions and to render them more plausible by force of an appealing personality. Shaw's case is exceptional mainly because he was famous not only as a playwright but also as a commentator on his own work, and in his Preface to *Saint Joan*, he wrote as what we once called 'a man of letters', interpreting history to a broad public audience from a viewpoint that might be shared by historians and creative writers.

One might think of empathy for the inquisitors as an issue I have already addressed in my article of 1995 on 'The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy', but it actually is not.<sup>6</sup> The main points of that article are linguistic and organizational. The linguistic point is that medieval sources did not typically speak of an institutional inquisition: they spoke of inquisitors, who carried out inquisitions, but the term *officium inquisitionis* referred to a function, not an agency, very much like *officium predicationis* or *officium visitationis*. The point about organization is that the last medieval centuries in fact witnessed a highly uneven process of transition from purely personal to institutional jurisdiction against heresy. Like any transition, this one is obscured by language suggesting it was complete at its outset.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 242.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, *Saint Joan*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Kieckhefer, 'The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy'.

<sup>7</sup> These arguments are complementary to those of Edward Peters and Henry A. Kelly. Peters distinguishes the function of 'inquisition' from the particularly constituted institutional

Neither of these arguments, in any event, is meant to express or encourage empathy for inquisitors. If there is any context in which I have been moved towards empathy for the inquisitors, it is in my book of 1997, *Forbidden Rites*, which details the practices of necromancy. Cautioning against naïve glorification of the transgressive, I make clear in that book that ‘much magic was intended for sexual coercion and exploitation, or for unscrupulous careerism, or for vigilante action against thieves that could easily lead to false accusations.’<sup>8</sup> If empathy is grounded in part on a clear understanding of the problems our historical subjects were meaning to address, *Forbidden Rites* could indeed be taken as a brief for empathetic understanding of the inquisitors’ cause, if not their methods.

Moving to other historians’ work, let me suggest that when they wish to arouse empathetic understanding of the inquisitors, they typically do so by considering four main factors: character, conviction, culture, and cult. Inquisitors may have done nasty things, but they often had sterling personalities. They did their work out of a sense of responsibility grounded in principle. They lived in a culture radically different from our own. And a few of them, at least, struck contemporaries as saintly individuals, whose veneration became a way of eliciting support for the Dominican Order and its works, including the repression of heresy. In capsule form, these are the arguments writers have made in an effort to view their historical subjects with a measure of empathetic understanding. Some historians, of course, aspire to objectivity rather than empathy.<sup>9</sup> Both objectivity and empathy are ways of mediating between the partisan extremes of censure and apology, but

‘Inquisitions’ and from the legend or myth of ‘The Inquisition’, and in this use of terms he avoids speaking of an ‘Inquisition’ except where there is evidence of institutionalization. Kelly focuses more on legal norms and procedures and shows continuity between heresy-inquisitions and other applications of inquisitorial law. See especially Peters, *Inquisition*, and Kelly, *Inquisitions and Other Trial Procedures*. In some places institutionalization was advanced, and one can hardly protest, for example, when historians speak of ‘the inquisition’ of Toulouse; see Given, ‘Social Stress, Social Strain, and the Inquisitors of Medieval Languedoc’, and Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*. Similarly, however, when Alan Friedlander argues that medieval observers perceived inquisitorial operation as having ‘something of a formal being’, which justifies our speaking of ‘Inquisition’, one can only say that this may have been so in certain contexts, for which evidence is required; see Friedlander, *The Hammer of Inquisitors*, pp. 270–72, and Friedlander, ‘The Franciscans of Languedoc’, p. 334 n. 16. Most fundamentally, (a) there was not an institutional inquisition (or the perception of one) in all places where inquisitors were at work, and (b) there was not a universal inquisition (as distinct, say, from the inquisition of Toulouse) at any point in the Middle Ages.

<sup>8</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> For example, Guiraud, *L’Inquisition médiévale*, pp. 9–10.

empathy seeks that middle way at a deeper level of understanding. When medieval historians aspire to a deeper empathetic grasp of their subjects, the arguments they reach for tend to fall into the categories I have just sketched. No doubt these arguments occur in studies focused on the early modern era, but my comments will be limited to the Middle Ages, simply because this is the period in which my own work is centred.

### *Character*

The recent film *Das Leben der Anderen* (2006) shows Gerd Wiesler, an officer in the East German secret police who is assigned to spy on a playwright and his actress girlfriend. Wiesler is a loner, socially awkward, but a highly effective interrogator, and above all a true believer. He sincerely believes that the German Democratic Republic embodies noble ideals, and that enemies of the state are arrogant and must be opposed. But he comes to realize that others in the secret police are unprincipled opportunists. For that and for other reasons, his own conviction begins to waver. On my reading, at least, the key to the film is this: that only a person who has a conscience in the first place can have a change of conscience. Wiesler does not *become* a good man by departing from his original convictions; he has been a good man all along, a man of conviction and of conscience, and when these need to change they can do so. Earlier in the twentieth century, in Germany and in the Soviet Union, there were leaders of secret police agencies well known as ‘overwhelmingly characters leading blameless and devoted lives’, and the historian Walter Ullmann, himself a refugee from the Nazis, suggests the same of medieval inquisitors.<sup>10</sup>

Examples come easily to mind. Henry Charles Lea cites the Dominican Giovanni Schio of Vicenza as an example of how ‘cruelty to the heretic could be conjoined with boundless love and good-will to men’. He was much involved in the pacification of Italian cities in the 1230s. At Bologna, Padua, Treviso, Feltro, and Belluno, he persuaded enemies to lay down their arms and swear mutual forgiveness ‘in a delirium of joyful reconciliation’. Yet this same friar burned sixty heretics in the public square at Verona.<sup>11</sup> If we had only some of the sources that

<sup>10</sup> Ullmann, ‘Historical Introduction’, p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 240–41. Franchi, *Santa Croce*, p. 11, speaks of the Franciscan friary at Florence as for centuries the headquarters for the local Inquisition, ‘which, apart from a few sensational and justifiable exceptions, always carried out the unhappy task of preserving the integrity of faith against all forms of heresy by means of skilled and saintly brothers’.

have survived, we might share a sense that Giovanni Schio was an unproblematically charismatic, even saintly character. The same conjunction of Fra Jeckyll and Signor Hyde can be seen in the life of yet another eminent Dominican, Peter of Verona, or Peter Martyr, who was assassinated by a Cathar in 1252. Donald Prudlo's fascinating recent study on Peter notes that friendship was a hallmark of his career. 'Many people recalled the warm relationships they shared with him.' He was famously hard on himself but gentle with others, apart from heretics.<sup>12</sup> He was a charismatic preacher and a magnetic personality, in a way that Dominic, the founder of his religious order, and other early Dominicans were not: he came of age amid the so-called Alleluia of 1233, and like the revivalists of that movement, he drew huge crowds and worked wonders.<sup>13</sup>

Bernard Guenée notes that only a third of the young Dominicans were put on track for higher studies, and one of the marks of those selected was their 'happy commerce', meaning their human warmth and facility at communicating. Bernard Gui, Guenée concludes, 'must have had those qualities'.<sup>14</sup> He went on to membership in that corps of Dominicans who served as priors and lectors; by implication he must have shared the character of a good Dominican, 'above all always amiable and gay'.<sup>15</sup> This imputation of character rests not only on circumstantial evidence, but on the testimony of contemporaries, in which Guenée finds indications of a 'sober gaiety': one source tells us that Gui, 'a man of contemplative soul and lively conversation, sometimes called his familiars to his side in the evening, after the day's fatiguing business and study were done, and asked one of them to discuss some decent, pleasant, and amusing topic, for he maintained that a good man should never go to bed without having enjoyed himself at least once during the day'.<sup>16</sup> Guenée presents another side of Gui clearly meant to capture the benevolence of the scholarly reader: Gui was an avid historian and bibliophile, who built a library for his friary, the first in the province of Toulouse, and was responsible for 'one of the earliest efforts in the West to build a room devoted especially to the preservation of books'.<sup>17</sup> Nor were his scholarly and inquisitorial activities clearly distinct. His travels through Languedoc in pursuit of heretics gave him occasion to revisit and emend the manuscripts of his historical work that had been sent out

<sup>12</sup> Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>13</sup> Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 40–41.

<sup>15</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>16</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, p. 61.

<sup>17</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, p. 48.

to friaries of the province. 'It is impossible to understand Bernard Gui's production as a historian and the circulation of his works without recognizing how the Dominican and inquisitor in him were constantly aiding the scholar.'<sup>18</sup>

The argument works better for some inquisitors than for others. In a recent study of the fourteenth-century Dominican inquisitor Nicolaus Eymerich, Claudia Heimann does not really attempt to persuade us that he was a sympathetic character.<sup>19</sup> She laments the biased nature of the sources, she analyses the patterns of his dedications, and she invites us to consider that he had friends beyond his own inquisitorial circle. In the end, her evidence does not yield a resounding character reference.

For Bernard Hamilton, the upright character of inquisitors is more depressing than reassuring. He notes that intolerance is 'common to most societies in most ages', but 'the Inquisition is unusual in that many of the men who administered it were very gifted, sometimes even spiritually gifted, and were justly considered eminent by their contemporaries and in some cases worthy of canonization after their death.'<sup>20</sup> Far from making it easier to achieve empathy, the sterling character of the inquisitors presents for Hamilton a deeper problem. This is, however, precisely the challenge of empathy: it is hardest to understand the mentality of the historical subject who cannot be simply dismissed as mentally or morally defective, and whose eagerness to persecute dissenters can only with difficulty be seen as compatible with more sympathetic traits and convictions.

Character can be more vividly displayed and perhaps more subtly nuanced in fiction, and if the writer is steeped in history the result can be an instructive take on historical subjects. George Bernard Shaw presents the ultimate urbane inquisitor in his dramatized version of the trial of Joan of Arc. The stage directions as well as the inquisitor's lines show a subtle shift in mood, bringing to view more than one aspect of the inquisitor's personality. At the outset he is 'smiling', 'always patiently smiling', 'interposing smoothly', bland but in control, and capable of delicious irony. The local prosecutors are exercised because their sixty-four articles against Joan have been trimmed to a mere twelve. The inquisitor, an outsider who has just arrived and taken charge, acknowledges that he is 'the culprit' who has shortened the list. 'I am overwhelmed with admiration for the zeal displayed in your sixty-four counts', he says, 'but in accusing a heretic, as in other things, enough is enough. Also you must remember that all the members of the court are not so subtle and profound as you, and that some of your very great learning

<sup>18</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymerich*.

<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*, p. 10.

might appear to them to be very great nonsense.' The chaplain is upset because a point has gotten lost: Joan has said the spirits who spoke to her did so in French, when they *should* have spoken in good English. 'Well', says the inquisitor, 'as we are all here agreed, I think, that these voices of The Maid are the voices of evil spirits tempting her to her damnation, it would not be very courteous to you [...], or to the King of England, to assume that English is the devil's native language. So let it pass.' Both witty and clear-headed, he insists on setting aside the 'trumpery issues' and sticking to 'the one main issue of heresy'.<sup>21</sup> This is an inquisitor one can relate to, and if one must be sent to the stake, one would like it to be by an inquisitor like this. But then, suddenly, when a younger friar suggests that Joan's errors are nothing but harmless simplicity, the inquisitor becomes deeply earnest and delivers his longest monologue, urging that apparent simplicity can lead to grave deception and disruption. Still, he urges the members of the tribunal to examine their consciences:

You are all, I hope, merciful men: how else could you have devoted your lives to the service of our gentle Savior? [...] But if you hate cruelty — and if any man here does not hate it I command him on his soul's salvation to quit this holy court — I say, if you hate cruelty, remember that nothing is so cruel in its consequences as the toleration of heresy. [...] Anger is a bad counselor; cast out anger. Pity is sometimes worse: cast out pity. But do not cast out mercy. Remember only that justice comes first.<sup>22</sup>

When Joan herself is brought before the tribunal, the inquisitor addresses her 'kindly', and in a new twist of irony inquires about her health, noting that she seems pale. After she has been burned, it is the inquisitor who laments, 'it is a terrible thing to see a young and innocent creature crushed between these mighty forces, the Church and the Law [...]. [W]hat does she know of the Church and the Law? She did not understand a word we were saying. It is the ignorant who suffer'.<sup>23</sup>

Shaw envisages different aspects of the inquisitor's character, but they all cohere around the conviction that mercy remains alive even when it yields to justice. The judgement itself may be an expression of justice, but in the soul of the judge mercy remains inactive yet intact. The inquisitor bears a terrible burden, unable to implement the mercy he feels and *must* feel. G. K. Chesterton was relieved, on reading *Saint Joan*, 'to find one anti-clerical who is clever enough to base his case on defending the clerics'.<sup>24</sup> It may be too much to say that Shaw was

<sup>21</sup> Shaw, *Saint Joan*, p. 119.

<sup>22</sup> Shaw, *Saint Joan*, pp. 121–23.

<sup>23</sup> Shaw, *Saint Joan*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Weintraub, *Saint Joan: Fifty Years After*, p. 251.

defending the inquisitor, but clearly he was capable of empathy for the character he built out of his historical resources.

### *Convictions*

If inquisitors often come to us as men of sterling character, they were all the more obviously men of strong conviction. Perhaps conviction was excessively strong. Pursuing her study of Nicolaus Eymerich, Claudia Heimann notes how hard it is to distinguish steadfastness from dogmatic obstinacy.<sup>25</sup> But by the standards of his time Thomas Aquinas could surely not be thought exceptionally rigid, yet he had an argument for the execution of heretics that struck him and contemporaries as persuasive: if those who falsify the coinage (on which temporal life depends) are rightly deemed worthy of death, how much more those who corrupt the faith (on which spiritual life hinges).<sup>26</sup>

Michael Tavuzzi has shown in his book on *Renaissance Inquisitors* that the crucial shift in fifteenth-century Italy was the transfer of inquisitorial function from Conventual to Observant Dominicans, men who tended to be far less lackadaisical about their work, more committed, and more disciplined. Indeed, Tavuzzi shows, the foundation of the Roman Inquisition in the mid-sixteenth century was fundamentally an extension of the work done earlier by these men of conviction and zeal, and the first commissary of the Holy Office had distinguished himself for his effectiveness among these earlier inquisitors of the Observance.<sup>27</sup>

Walter Ullmann (writing in 1963) saw the task as not so much to understand the inquisitors as to explain how the popes of the thirteenth century were able to abandon their predecessors' sense of legal restraint and endorse forms of justice that scarcely merit that name: earlier popes had denounced judicial torture, and now they allowed it; earlier pontiffs had upheld the demand for proper legal evidence, but now they permitted testimony from witnesses whose testimony would once have been dismissed.<sup>28</sup> The popes themselves recognized their departure; they viewed heresy as an 'exceptional crime' that required exceptional judicial measures.<sup>29</sup> It was to Christian society what infectious disease is in any society,

<sup>25</sup> Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymerich*, esp. pp. 155–60.

<sup>26</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 229–30.

<sup>27</sup> Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors*.

<sup>28</sup> Ullmann, 'Historical Introduction', p. 32.

<sup>29</sup> Ullmann, 'Historical Introduction', p. 42.

and it called for eradication just as much as the most dangerous medical threat.<sup>30</sup> Underlying this conviction was a form of 'collectivist thinking' that contrasts with modern individualism and the natural rights of the individual: 'the individual as a being endowed with indigenous, autonomous and independent rights was a thesis for which we shall look in vain in the Middle Ages. [...] The Christian was considered to be merely the recipient of rights eventually originating in divinity: it was the latter which conferred rights (and duties) on the former, and could also take them away. But inalienable and inborn rights the Christian had not.'<sup>31</sup>

In the case of Bernard Gui, Guenée suggests a deeper and more general conviction at work: 'The bedrock on which Bernard Gui's certitudes rested consisted of one simple idea: in every society, and in the Church in particular, there are superiors and inferiors; there are men who derive authority from their office and other men who serve under them.' Gui was, in Guenée's remarkable phrasing, 'a mystic of obedience.'<sup>32</sup> He himself undertook scholarly as well as other labours under obedience.<sup>33</sup> As a historian he sought always the soundest authorities, and this quest was of a piece with his submission to ecclesial authority: 'Respect for the authorities satisfied the Christian and the inquisitor; it dominated the work of the historian.'<sup>34</sup> To rebel against obedience was for Gui a form of sheer madness.<sup>35</sup>

## Culture

Apart from the articulated convictions that moved both popes and inquisitors to persecution, historians of inquisition have at times contextualized it in broader, less explicit characteristics of the culture in which they were formed. We are often told, for starters, that the persecuting urge was not limited to clerics. Even if inquisitorial procedures were skewed in favour of conviction, they were better than lynching. This perspective is one that Robert I. Moore argues against in *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*,<sup>36</sup> and both sides can be argued, but in

<sup>30</sup> Ullmann, 'Historical Introduction', p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Ullmann, 'Historical Introduction', pp. 36–37. On the historical and political context for the notion of 'collectivist thinking', see especially Aiello, 'Constructing "Godless Communism"'.

<sup>32</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 49–50.

<sup>33</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>34</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, p. 62.

<sup>35</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>36</sup> Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, pp. 106–09.

our historiographic analysis we must note that this is one factor adduced in the inquisitors' favour: they brought the regularity of law to what would otherwise have been the savagery of the mob, and the penances they often imposed were far better than lynching. As George Bernard Shaw's inquisitor so eloquently puts it, 'no court of law can be so cruel as the common people are to those whom they suspect of heresy'.<sup>37</sup>

What sort of culture would it require to induce such intolerance? The question has been addressed surprisingly seldom until recent decades. It is Moore's chief question, and he sees the problem as specific to the persecutory instincts of the rising clerical elite.<sup>38</sup> In an earlier generation, Henry Charles Lea framed the problem more broadly: 'We must picture to ourselves', he suggested, 'a stage of civilization in many respects wholly unlike our own.' Anticipating the prose of Johan Huizinga,<sup>39</sup> he continues, 'Passions were fiercer, convictions stronger, virtues and vices more exaggerated, than in our colder and more self-contained time. The age, moreover, was a cruel one'. At this point he draws on the explicitly evolutionist theories of John Fiske, who represented history as a succession of distinct ages: 'The military spirit was everywhere dominant [...]. The industrial spirit, which has so softened modern manners and modes of thought, was as yet hardly known.'<sup>40</sup> The nations of Europe were thus 'habituated to the most savage cruelty'.<sup>41</sup>

Once again George Bernard Shaw provides an interesting alternative perspective in the Preface to *Saint Joan*. While Lea urges us to understand the inquisitors by recognizing the radical discontinuity between medieval and modern culture, Shaw perhaps more plausibly takes the opposite view, that of continuity: the persecutory urge is not specifically premodern but is a constant in history, variable only in its intensity. 'We must face the fact that society is founded on intolerance. There are glaring cases of the abuse of intolerance; but they are quite as characteristic of our own age as of the Middle Ages [...]. The degree of tolerance attainable at any moment depends on the strain under which society is maintaining its cohesion.' Wartime, notably, induces greater intolerance. Thus, 'between a maximum of indulgent toleration and a ruthlessly intolerant Terrorism there

<sup>37</sup> Shaw, *Saint Joan*, p. 123.

<sup>38</sup> See also, for example, Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, and Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*.

<sup>39</sup> Huizinga, *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen*.

<sup>40</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 233–34.

<sup>41</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 236.

is a scale through which toleration is continually rising or falling, and [...] there was not the smallest ground for the self-complacent conviction of the nineteenth century that it was more tolerant than the fifteenth, or that such an event as the execution of Joan could not possibly occur in what we call our own more enlightened times.<sup>42</sup>

The work of Christine Caldwell Ames, especially her book *Righteous Persecution*, views inquisition from a still broader perspective, that of the reforming Church of the high Middle Ages, largely a theocracy that demanded and endeavoured to exercise authoritarian control over the faithful.<sup>43</sup> She traces a repressive mentality and a culture of repression shared and supported by many who were not inquisitors. She views medieval culture as more pervasively authoritarian and repressive than it might otherwise have seemed. Thus, in his compilation *On the Gift of Fear*, the Dominican Humbert of Romans, not himself an inquisitor, portrayed God as in effect a kind of inquisitor who consigns the damned to torture at the hands of demons.<sup>44</sup> More basically, inquisition was one manifestation of a culture in which a high level of discipline was imposed on all, and violations were subject to a kind of scrutiny and punishment that had developed within the monasteries. For those who proved irreformable, the ultimate punishment of execution could be justified by the Bible itself, in which God was a killer and sanctioned the killing of his enemies. To say all this is to discern a strong bond of continuity between inquisitorial repression and that of the surrounding Church and society.

## Cult

Perhaps the most surprising facet in the perception of inquisitors is that some of them impressed their contemporaries not just as saintly in a broad sense but actually as plausible candidates for canonization. Even during his lifetime, Bernard Guenée tells us, Bernard Gui was thought to perform miracles: a friar who could not sleep begged his intercession, and Gui successfully commanded sleep to come upon him; he likewise commanded fever and dysentery to depart from another friar, not immediately but after the feast of Saint Dominic, and the brother was

<sup>42</sup> Shaw, *Saint Joan*, pp. 35–36. See Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*, p. 98: ‘The sad truth would seem to be that truly tolerant societies are very rare, and that the desire to persecute individuals or groups who flout the received orthodoxy, whatever it may be, is a deeply-rooted human instinct.’

<sup>43</sup> Ames, *Righteous Persecution*.

<sup>44</sup> Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, p. 167.

cured precisely then. An observer asked, presumably in jest but still with a certain point to it, why the order was striving for canonization of the deceased Thomas Aquinas when it could have the canonization of a living saint. After Gui's death in 1331, he appeared to a prior at Limoges in the form of a brilliant light that moved across the choir and to the high altar of a chapel.<sup>45</sup> In view of these miracles and manifestations, some of Gui's contemporaries — notably his nephews, to whom he had been kind — seem to have hoped for his canonization, but in vain.<sup>46</sup>

The order already had another member who had been an inquisitor, been martyred, and then become the focus of the fastest-ever canonization process: Peter Martyr of Verona, whom we have already encountered. He was not the only assassinated inquisitor venerated as a martyr,<sup>47</sup> but he was the most important. Donald Prudlo's study of Peter emphasizes that he had not in fact been an inquisitor for long, and that in the early stages of his cult his inquisitorial action was not highlighted. He had been a powerfully charismatic preacher and healer. Having himself come from a Cathar family, he was effective as a preacher against the heresy. One early source states that Pope Innocent IV had committed to him the office of preaching against heretics ('sibi officium praedicationis contra haereticos commisit').<sup>48</sup> But he served as inquisitor for only nine months, and the only surviving record of his inquisitorial work is his declaration of a period of grace. The Dominicans began to highlight his identity as a martyred inquisitor slowly, only from the late thirteenth century. Even then, when he played a vital role in the 'saints race' between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, propaganda for his cult centred on his triple crown as martyr, virgin, and doctor. Still, in the late Middle Ages he was revered as an inquisitor. Indeed, Bernard Gui even stretched the historical record and represented Dominic himself as having been not just a preacher against heretics but an inquisitor. In Peter's case, the representation was not false, even if it entailed a shift in emphasis in an effort to claim for inquisitors more generally something of the luster of martyrs. To be an inquisitor was to represent the institutional Church in all its magnificence and power, and specifically in its capacity as oppressor. But the image of Peter Martyr still bearing in his head the cleaver with which he was killed, an image that so forcefully confronted viewers of late medieval art, served as a reminder that an inquisitor was also in peril, could himself become a victim, and did at times succumb to martyrdom. Can

<sup>45</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>46</sup> Guenée, *Between Church and State*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>47</sup> Montagnes, 'Les Inquisiteurs martyrs de la France méridionale'.

<sup>48</sup> Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 101.

one feel empathy for an inquisitor who opens himself to this eventuality? Clearly many contemporaries could, and to exalt the inquisitor as martyr is to urge compassion for the passion he has endured.

Thomas Scharff comments that when we speak of 'persecution' with reference to medieval inquisitors, we have no uncertainty about who the persecutors were and who was persecuted, but the inquisitors thought of themselves as a small and persecuted group in conflict with overwhelming adversaries, and for them the phrase *persecutio inquisitorum* meant persecution inflicted on inquisitors, not by them.<sup>49</sup> To be sure, Scharff says explicitly that he is not attempting to arouse sympathy for the inquisitors — but to understand their mentality, to see how matters appear from their viewpoint, is in itself an exercise in empathetic understanding.<sup>50</sup>

It may seem as though we have come full circle, since the saintliness of an inquisitor is one dimension of his character, and thus the fourth of our factors can be subsumed under the first. Actually, I would rather subsume it under the third: in sequencing the material as I have, I mean to suggest that the image of the martyred inquisitor is another way of speaking about the broader culture within which the inquisitor and his devotees live, one characterized by endemic intolerance. Where the opposing sides are equally intolerant of each other's convictions, and where both sides are willing to turn to violence, the game of claiming to be the true victim is famously easy to play. One of the most sinister forms of empathy is that which enters into only one side of this unholy contest.

In his recent book *Burning to Read*, James Simpson develops a fascinatingly counterintuitive argument: in early sixteenth-century England, it was William Tyndale and the Protestants who, with their rigidly literal reading of the Bible, showed themselves infected by the 'textual virus of distrustful literalism'. The Catholic traditionalist Thomas More represented a more liberal practice of reading that admits the possibility of multiple meanings and recognizes that meanings are always found within communities. 'Pure textual transparency is impossible: no text can simply deliver its meaning of its own accord; all texts must find their voice within interpretive environments that draw on a range of unwritten, faithful intuitions.'<sup>51</sup> More and his orthodox contemporaries were the true heirs of Augustine, who allowed that Moses did not have to mean only what you read or what I read in his text but that both meanings could be true, and that the

<sup>49</sup> Scharff, 'Die Inquisitoren und die Macht der Zeichen', esp. pp. 111–13.

<sup>50</sup> Scharff, 'Die Inquisitoren und die Macht der Zeichen', p. 117: 'Diese Beispiele wurden hier nicht so ausgiebig vorgeführt, um Mitleid mit den Inquisitoren zu erregen.'

<sup>51</sup> Simpson, *Burning to Read*, p. 251.

divine author of Scripture could plant in it an indefinite number of meanings. For Augustine, open-ended or allegorical exegesis was in accord with charity, the ultimate norm for both thought and action.

Simpson perceives the austere judge, Thomas More, as working in this tradition and this spirit. It was the 'conditions of sixteenth-century early textual modernity' that 'produced a monster of sorts, which pushed its victims into rigid, exclusivist, persecutory, and self-punishing postures'.<sup>52</sup> Why, then, did More — who clearly understood the argument for tolerance — in practice become a persecutor, turning the machinery of state repression upon dissidents such as Tyndale? Simpson suggests that More caught the virus from his opponents.<sup>53</sup> The burning of heretics followed more from their theology than from his, but he became the victim of their intolerance. When Simpson examines the reading practices of Tyndale and More, More elicits his full empathy; for Tyndale he has none. And if Tyndale's reading is persecutory, then More's practice of persecution must be a kind of tragic inconsistency.<sup>54</sup>

The argument becomes less plausible when pushed backward into the later Middle Ages, when the advocates of fluid allegorical reading were already intolerant and persecutory in case after case. And if one extends the survey even further back, it becomes harder to see any clear corollary between practices of reading and practices of tolerance and intolerance. Still, I cite Simpson as a striking example of a particular way of eliciting empathy for the oppressor who is also a martyr and a saint, and whose beliefs and practices are linked in complex ways to broader cultural patterns.

In 1998 there was a conference at the Vatican on the history of the Inquisition. Most of the speakers were historians, but Georges Cottier spoke on theological problems related to inquisitorial history, and one passage from his remarks is particularly interesting for our theme. Cottier speaks of 'the objectivity conferred by a deep fraternal love'. He then acknowledges that this formulation may seem surprising. Does 'fraternal love' engender objectivity? Might one not expect it to undermine the impartiality required of a scholar? No, he suggests; the kind of objectivity proper to a historian is one promoted by empathy. While resentment and contempt lead only to bias and tendentious readings, generosity of spirit and empathetic understanding lead more reliably to balanced interpretation.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Simpson, *Burning to Read*, p. 282.

<sup>53</sup> The analogy of a virus is Simpson's own formulation.

<sup>54</sup> For a very different assessment of More, see Ridley, *Statesman and Saint*, esp. pp. 291–93.

<sup>55</sup> Cottier, 'Les Problèmes théologiques de l'Inquisition', p. 22.

It may be difficult to maintain that empathetic understanding when inquisitors or other oppressors come into a view keyed to tolerance, but this essay has meant to explore some of the ways — however successfully — historians have sought to do so.

*Richard Kieckhefer*  
Professor of Religion and History  
Northwestern University

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